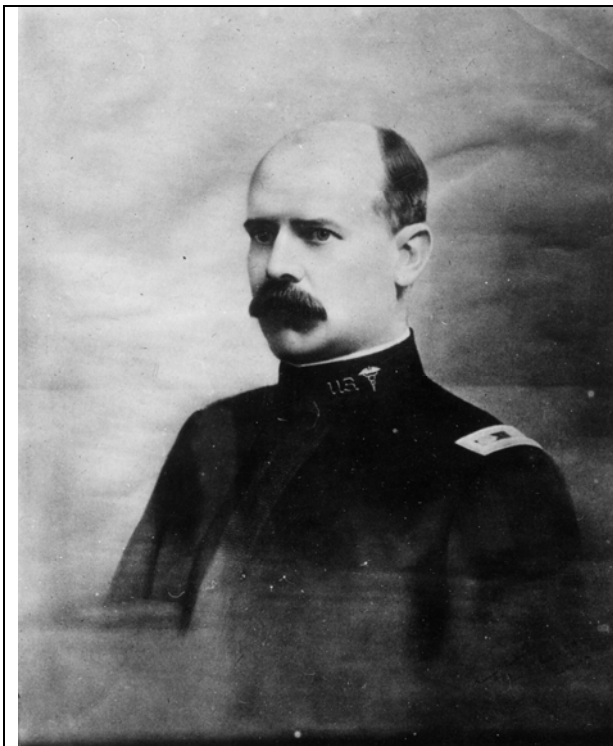


Editor's Note

Brig. Gen. Kean wrote his autobiography over several years, changing style slightly over time. At first he broke it into chapters, later he used the year of events as a header on the page, and towards the end he used no headings whatsoever. I have broken it down into sections, to facilitate access. I have also corrected spelling, standardized capitalization, and changed punctuation to improve clarity of expression. Material in parenthesis is original material from the Autobiography. Original footnotes (that originally appeared on the back of preceding typescript pages) are indicated by an asterisk. Both material in brackets and the numbered footnotes are editorial additions. Kean's typist mis-numbered some pages, and the mistakes are preserved so researchers can accurately cite from this version.

The original of Brig. Gen. Kean's autobiography is in the National Library of Medicine, and the University of Virginia, Kean's alma mater, holds further papers. The Office of Medical History thanks the National Library of Medicine for its help in making this material more widely available.



Maj. Kean in approximately 1905.
Courtesy of the Claude Moore Health
Sciences Library, University of Virginia



Brig. Gen. Kean in 1918
<http://www.ihm.nlm.nih.gov/ihm/images/B/16/151.jpg>

Sanders Marble
Historian, Office of Medical History, U.S. Army

1. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JEFFERSON RANDOLPH KEAN.

January 1st, 1928.

In compliance with the Circular No. 20 S.G.O., and a recent personal letter from my good Chief, Surgeon General M. W. Ireland, I now begin to write my biographical sketch for file in the Army Medical Library.

As there is no time limit for the completion of this task, my intention is to write it a little at a time as the spirit moves me and my other occupations permit. This plan may lead to undue prolixity but, after all, no one will be compelled to read it, and as no one can tell just what may be of interest to the reader or the historian, it may be better to write things which may not be of interest than to omit something that he may wish to know. Also, the dry enumeration of my stations and duties during the forty years of my active service can be of little value, and certainly of little interest to anyone in the future. Descriptions and narrations on the contrary which show the conditions of the service and of medical practice in the past may have value as well as interest. I shall, therefore, write what seems to me to be of interest. If the reader of the future finds it otherwise, his relief is at hand. He can return this narrative to the shelf where it belongs and turn to more profitable literature.

I was born in Lynchburg, Va., 27 June, 1860, being the second son and third child of Robert Garlick Hill Kean and Jane Nicholas Randolph his first wife. I am not able to advance the claim so frequently seen in these biographies that I come of good old New England stock and that my ancestors came over in the Mayflower, but can offer in substitution the statement that I come of good Virginia ancestry, and that one maternal progenitor held the important official position of Secretary of the Colony at Jamestown for some years before that ancestor- and furniture-laden vessel the Mayflower sailed from Holland. This person was John Rolfe, gent., who saved the Colony

2. economically by originating the commercial culture of tobacco, and also probably saved it from extinction in war by the long peace with the Indians which was the result of his marriage with that one hundred percent American lady, Pocahontas, whose fame has rather obscured her husband's fine qualifications as a colonist and progenitor.

My father R.G.H. Kean was a lawyer of distinction. He was born in Caroline Co., Va. and educated at the University of Va. at which he received the M.A. and B.L. degrees. In the Civil War he carried a musket in a Virginia regiment for the first year, after which, being disabled by a fall in a night march, he was made a Major and A.G. under the command of Gen. George W. Randolph. General Randolph after a few months, being made Secretary of War of the Confederacy, took his Adjutant General with him to Richmond and made him Chief of the Bureau of War. This position he held until the end of the war.

The Kean "immigrant ancestor" was Samuel Kean who came to this country in 1760 from County Armagh in North Ireland, the family being protestant, and by tradition said to be descended from one of Cromwell's soldiers. Samuel Kean returned to Ireland to marry an old sweetheart who, after marrying another man, had become a widow. The Revolutionary War intervened to prevent his return to America until 1785, when he came back bringing his wife and oldest son whose name was Andrew. They settled in the [Shenandoah] Valley of Va. Samuel Kean was the latest arrival of my immigrant ancestors, as all my other seven great-great-grandfathers were of families which at the time of the Revolution had been several generations in Va. Samuel's son Andrew became a doctor of wide practice and good reputation. He lived in Goochland Co. between Richmond and Charlottesville and practiced in a radius of 50 miles. When Thomas Jefferson organized the faculty of the University of Va.

3. in 1825 he offered Dr. Andrew Kean the Chair of Practice of Medicine which the latter, however, declined. He married Kitty Vaughan, whose father, Shadrach, served under Washington in Braddock's unfortunate campaign against the French and Indians in 1755.

My mother's father, after whom I was named, was Col. Thomas Jefferson Randolph of Edgehill in Albemarle Co., Va., a planter who had large estates near Charlottesville, and was of the well known Virginia family of that name, being descended from three of the five sons of William Randolph of Turkey Island (1650-1711) who is said to have had more distinguished descendants than any other Virginian. Col. Randolph was the oldest grandson of Thomas Jefferson and was largely brought up by him. He inherited and paid that great man's debts. This, and the fact that Mr. Jefferson in his revision of the laws of Virginia had secured the abolition of the right of primogeniture, resulted in the loss of most of Col. Randolph's fortune, as he was the oldest son of a large family.

The Randolph lands in Albemarle (of which Edgehill was a part) stretched for several miles along the north bank of the Rivanna River and on the north extended up to the crest of the South West Mountain, and had been in the family since they were first taken up by a grant from the King. It was on this land that Thomas Jefferson was born, due to the following circumstance. The father of Thomas Jefferson, Peter, had taken up land on the opposite bank of the Rivanna and had married Jane Randolph of Tuckahoe. Finding no suitable place on his land to locate his home he purchased from his brother-in-law, Thomas Randolph, a farm on the north side, which he called Shadwell and where he built his house. The price named in the deed for this land was "Thomas Weatherborne's biggest bowl of

4. arrack punch.” Thomas Weatherborne kept a tavern in the neighborhood.

I was born at the end of an era - at least for the slave holding states, for before I was a year old came the Civil War and after it, with its losses and deprivations, came several decades of universal poverty and political confusion. My recollections of the war are a few detached occurrences, the sound of the cannon about Richmond, the marching of soldiers, one great military funeral and then (from my grandfather's porch in Albemarle) the lawn and fields covered with the tents and bivouacs of Sheridan's cavalry. I was too young to realize the strangeness of the fact that all that we ate and drank and wore at my grandfather's plantation during the last year of the war was produced on the plantation, but I can remember the negro women spinning yarn and weaving the brown homespun cloth which we wore, and my mother's graceful hands as she plaited the long rye straws which made our hats. Shoes were a luxury only to be indulged in in freezing weather. Also, table glasses were too scarce and precious for children's hands so that we drank our milk out of cups of cow's horn with wooden bottoms made by the carpenter. I disliked the taste which the faint odor of the horn gave to the milk and preferred it from a tin cup which was the cherished possession of my old black mammy whom no decree of President Lincoln had power to separate from her "chillun," of which I regarded myself as her favorite.

After the war was over my mother sewed black cloth over the brass buttons of my father's gray coat and he went back to his law office in Lynchburg. But, though he had from the start a good practice, collections were very difficult as his clients were as poor as he, so that for some years living was very hard. We had always enough to eat, however, and my mother's ingenuity and skill with her needle seemed able to produce clothes, but the rule was no shoes until the snow flew. I recall that the stone pavements seemed very cold under foot and I went

5. to my father in the late autumn and stoutly asserted that I had seen a flake of snow falling out of the sky. No one else had seen any, and I remember the amused skepticism with which my father questioned me and finally promised the shoes.

The public schools were established in Virginia but were considered very poor, and doubtless they were at first, and so in spite of my father's poverty his children went to private schools. When I was 14 it was decided that I should go to a boarding school and I was sent in 1874 to the Episcopal High School near Alexandria, an old school which my father had attended in 1843, and which is still a well-known and flourishing institution. I was rather frail physically and immature even for that age and was not a very good student, but I had the good fortune to have as a desk-mate and friend an older boy who had all the good qualities that I lacked and from whom I learned much. He was R. Walton Moore of Fairfax, who has long been a man of distinction at the bar and in political life, and at present worthily represents his district in Congress. After three years there my standing was not high enough to satisfy my father's standards and he transferred me to the Bellevue High School near Lynchburg. The Principal of this school, Mr. Wm. R. Abbot, was a man of forceful personality and brilliant scholastic accomplishments, under whose influence I began at once to take an interest in my studies. All the appreciation and literary knowledge of the Latin language which I ever acquired was gained in the two years that I was at this excellent school, though I studied Latin altogether not less than ten years.

In 1879 I was sent to the University of Va. where being still rather immature I lived the first year in the family of the distinguished dean of the law school, Dr. John B. Minor, a grand old man of forceful and, I thought, rather puritanical turn of mind. I called him cousin, but the relationship was rather a friendship between our families extending through several generations than any actual kinship. During this year one of the law students who called frequently at

6. the house was Woodrow Wilson, afterwards President of the United States. He was a mature man and even at that time much looked up to for his oratorical accomplishments.

My progress at the University was only fair and did not satisfy my father whose record there was a brilliant one, and so after two years he decided that I would do well to have the discipline of teaching school. Accordingly I went for a year as assistant to Mr. Brent at the Onancock Academy in Accomack Co., on the eastern shore of Virginia. This was a novel experience and a very satisfactory one. Then I came back to the University to study medicine it was with quite a different outlook on life and my standing thereafter was entirely satisfactory to my father.

7. CHAPTER II.

I have said that I was born at the end of a political era. I graduated in medicine at or near the beginning of an era in medical science. The new study of bacteriology was just being developed by Koch with the help of solid media and the use of aniline dyes for staining, and was beginning to bear fruit, and Lister's theory of the bacterial cause of septic inflammation and his antiseptic surgical technique were just gaining general acceptance when I graduated in medicine at the University of Va. in June, 1883. Local anesthesia had not yet come in with the discovery of cocaine by Koller of Vienna. Nothing was known of the mischievous potentialities of the appendix and the word appendicitis had not yet been coined. When a patient had a pain in his belly we gave him cathartics. If he developed symptoms of peritonitis we locked the bowels with opium and trusted in Divine Providence.

In October 1893 I went to New York City to get some clinical experience as the course of instruction at my alma mater was at that time purely didactic, by books and lectures, so that her graduates had to go elsewhere for clinical and hospital experience. I joined there the quiz for medical students conducted by Dr. John A. Wyeth which gave me access, besides his instruction, to the clinics - the Polyclinic and elsewhere. Dr. Wyeth was an interesting and picturesque figure in the medical world of New York at this time. He was born in Alabama and as a boy had entered the Confederate army and received his college education in the stern school of war. He was captured and imprisoned at Camp Douglas, Ill., where by his account he was treated with much cruelty and nearly starved to death. After the war he came to New York where, being without money or friends, he found

8. employment in a medical school, where his work was largely connected with the dissecting room. He made use of his opportunities to study medicine, and became an excellent surgeon and anatomist. His afternoon quiz enjoyed a high reputation for preparing its pupils for passing the entrance examinations for the Government Medical Services. This is probably what attracted me to it as I had at that time made up my mind to enter the Army Medical Department.

I made good use of my winter in New York, but was unable to get an internship in a hospital, which was a training of which I felt much in need. Dr. Wyeth gave me no assistance or encouragement in this wish, and frankly told me that as the appointments were made at that time, they were all given to students who were known to the appointing bodies and an outsider stood no chance. I felt the need of my lack of practical hospital experience as long as I had the immediate care of the sick, which was until the Spanish War carried me into positions of administrative responsibility.

In February, 1884, I received an invitation to appear before the Army Medical Examining Board, which was then sitting in a rented building in Greene St., New York. The President of the Board was an elderly and distinguished medical officer, Bvt. Brig. General Joseph B. Brown. The other members were:

Major Bennett A. Clements

Major John H. Janeway

Captain James R. Kimball, Recorder.

There were no vacancies in the Medical Corps of the Army at this time and the purpose of conducting these examinations was to get eight or ten approved candidates to fill vacancies which might occur in the next two or three years. As there were many candidates, the Board was very rigid and exacting in its standards, especially in the matter

9. of general education. I recall that in mathematics I was asked to write out the Binomial Theorem and to state the difference between Integral and Differential Calculus, which I was able to do then, but am far from being able to do now.

In languages they asked me what Latin authors I had read, and if I were willing to undertake to read it or any other language at sight for the Board. I replied that I would undertake Latin but not Greek. The Board did not, however, put me to this test - perhaps they felt a little rusty in their Latin. They did, however, have me read and translate French for them. In modern history I made a poor showing because they picked on the wars for the liberation of Italy which, as I told them, was too recent a period to be covered by the histories I had read, and too far back for me to remember. I mention these things because they may interest the future generations whose professional knowledge is so much greater than in my day, but of whom correspondingly less is required in cultural knowledge. I passed second in the list of candidates, Walter D. McCaw being first. I then went home, where I soon received a formal letter from the Surgeon General telling me that I had been found qualified for appointment and would be recommended at the proper time. Meanwhile, I was offered a contract for duty as Acting Assistant Surgeon, which I promptly accepted. This letter was dated March 4, 1884 and signed:

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
D.L. Huntington
Surgeon U.S. Army.

The letter and the signature were all in the same handwriting.

This Major Huntington (though military titles were not then used by medical officers) was a man of culture and refinement whom eight years later almost to a day I met and relieved as Post Surgeon at the Barracks at St. Augustine, Fla.

10. He was one of the authors and compilers of the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion.

My first military order was S.O. 127 dated War Dept., June 2, 1884, directing me to proceed from Lynchburg, Va. to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and report in person to the Commanding General, Dept. of the Missouri for duty in that Department. It was by command of Lieut. General Sheridan signed R.C. Drum, A.G. I did so, and on reporting to General Augur was referred to Colonel Charles Page, Medical Director, who received me kindly and told me that I would be sent to Fort Sill. I inquired (rather blankly I imagine, for the question seemed to amuse him) where was Fort Sill. He took me into the office of the Ordnance Officer, and said, "Captain M., here is a young man who wants to know where Fort Sill is." The Captain thereupon produced from his map press a large map of the Indian Territory which he spread out on the floor, and taking his cane pointed to a spot in the middle of it said, "There is Fort Sill." When I asked how one got there, one of them thought I went in by stage from Kansas, and the other that I took a stage from the railroad a hundred miles or so to the east. I found by inquiry at the Post Trader's store that neither was right, and that the only practicable route was by stage from Henrietta, Texas.

Having received my order on June 13th I went to Fort Worth, Texas, and the next day by a branch line to Henrietta, at that time the end of the line and a small cattle town. At sunrise I took the stage and went to the Red River, which, being then in flood and half a mile wide, we got into a small boat and landed far down on the other side. There another stage met us and after a hot and weary all day drive we reached Fort Sill late in the afternoon. The distance was about 60 miles.

11. CHAPTER III. SERVICE AT FORT SILL.

Then and there began my army service. I was received with much kindness by the Commanding Officer, at whose front door I and my trunk were put down. A set of quarters was assigned me in which the Post Surgeon had placed a hospital bed, a washstand, and a couple of chairs. I was told that the bachelors' mess would take me in, and that I would begin my duties in the morning by attending sick call. The post order assigning me to duty was dated June 18th, 1884.

The post was garrisoned by 4 companies of the 24th Infantry and 2 troops of the 9th Cavalry - all colored troops. The Commanding Officer was Major Frederick W. Benteen, 9th Cav. He was a Virginian who had fought on the Union side, not from any sympathy for the Abolitionists, but because he was opposed to secession. In the reorganization of the army in 1865 he was offered a commission as Major in a colored regiment, but preferred a Captaincy in a white regiment, and was assigned to the 7th Cavalry.¹ After serving nearly twenty years in that grade his promotion brought him to a negro regiment after all. The Surgeon was Major Morse K. Taylor, an elderly man who had come into the Medical Department from the Volunteers after the Civil War.

Fort Sill was in the Kiowa and Comanche Indian Reservation; there was no white population. These Indians all carried Winchester rifles and had practically exterminated the large game, but they did not disturb the wild turkeys or other birds, or the small animals, so these were very abundant. On the first or second morning that I attended sick call, after it was over one of the hospital attendants asked me if I would like to kill a wild turkey and said that a flock was just across the creek from the hospital. I said yes, and he brought me a shot gun and half a

¹ This is the Benteen who survived Custer's attack on the Lakota at Little Big Horn.

12. dozen cartridges. I crossed the creek and entered the strip of woods along the creek bottom and soon discovered the flock and got a shot. I killed my bird and, leaving him at the foot of a large cottonwood, followed up the flock, and got another. When I returned to get my first turkey he was not where I had left him. On looking around I saw a wildcat making off with him. I was too surprised to shoot before he disappeared in the underbrush. But I felt proud to have one, and when I told my tale at breakfast it was heard with smiles and grunts of incredulity, and, though I had one turkey as evidence, it took me some time to establish a reputation for veracity. I found that it was quite unusual for wild turkeys to venture so near the post.

Surgeon Taylor treated me very kindly. I found him interested in two matters of hygiene - the development of a water supply for the garrison, and the living conditions of the soldier. The water supply for the post was furnished by a water cart drawn by two mules and filled from Medicine Bluff Creek by buckets. Each family was given their allowance which was poured into a water barrel which stood by the back gate. The sanitary drawbacks of such a system, as well as its inconveniences, were obvious, especially in the summer when the creek ceased to run and the pool at Medicine Bluff became much contaminated. Dr. Taylor found a quite bold spring flowing into the creek, back of the south end of the officers' row, and he persuaded the C.O. to dig a basin in the rock to receive the flow from it, and to build a stone spring house over it. Then money was obtained for a pump and tank and a water supply gradually installed. He named the spring Ambrosia Spring after his wife.

At this time soldiers did not have bed clothes except in the hospital when they were sick. Each had a wooden or iron bunk with slats and a bed sack

13. which was filled once a month with hay or straw. When the time came to refill the bed sacks the Company were marched off to the haystack, each man with his bed sack on his head to change the filling. From a distance they looked like a flock of huge sheep. Each soldier had two blankets but no sheets or pillow. For the latter he stuffed some old clothes into his barrack bag. After much official correspondence Dr. Taylor succeeded in getting the War Department interested, and mattresses, sheets, and pillows were issued.

The ration was at this time monotonous and ill-balanced and without fresh vegetables, but at Sill were excellent company gardens where, in good seasons, vegetables were raised. The issue of potatoes and onions came much later. I was promptly made Post Treasurer which placed me in charge of the post bakery. Also, one of my duties was to inspect, very early in the morning, the meat which the beef contractor had just slaughtered for the day's ration. It was range beef, and if I rejected the steer another was immediately killed. The rejected meat was given to the Indians as there was no sale for it. The animals were pretty lean for the first six months of the year, and though they later became fat they never became tender. I soon learned the art of baking and mess management.

The uniform was blue with five brass buttons on the blouse, which had a turned down collar. A rather flat cap with straight visor was worn in the post, and in the field a campaign hat. The trousers were for the line a pretty shade of sky blue with stripe showing arm of service - Infantry, white; Cavalry, yellow; Artillery red. The Staff Departments wore dark blue trousers of the same shade with the blouse. Each officer had an ample and picturesque cape of dark blue broadcloth lined with cloth the color of the facing of his arm of the service, sky blue for Infantry, yellow for Cavalry, red for Artillery and dark blue for Staff. It was

14. very convenient for short distances, but was not worn at formations. Officers' wives found them very convenient garments.

The hospital was simple in its administration but was always immaculately clean and was comfortable. There were, of course, no trained nurses, nor did we get any enlisted Hospital Corps until 1887. There were only the Hospital Stewards who belonged to the post non-commissioned staff, and the Acting Stewards. The privates were detailed from the line and were, as a rule, picked men. They received extra-duty pay and were relieved from guard and all other company duty while on this detail. While the captains grumbled a little at the doctor picking their best men, they realized that the proper care of the sick depended on his having them. The Post Surgeon on the other hand had to keep on good terms with the captains so that they would not suddenly discover that his best nurses needed target practice, or were forgetting their drill. When the insistence of Colonel John Van R. Hoff pushed through the provision of an enlisted Hospital Corps, these were given higher pay than the line, and we still succeeded in getting excellent men, usually by transfer from the line. This was so until after the establishment of the General Staff, when some bright young line officer brought forth the slogan, "No soldier should be paid more than the man who carries the rifle." This had a specious ring of justice, which secured its adoption and the pay of the Hospital Corps was reduced without the fact having occurred to them that it is not hard to find men willing to carry a rifle, but it is very difficult to find red-blooded Americans of character and intelligence who are willing to carry a bed pan!

The principles of antiseptic surgery were at this time admitted in theory, but as no one had been trained in them they were often forgotten, or badly carried

15. out in practice. We did less damage than might have been expected, but I have some painful memories, especially in obstetrical cases. I remember once a young soldier was admitted to the hospital with a loose bit of cartilage in the knee joint - the so-called joint mouse, which would occasionally cause trouble by being caught between the articular surfaces, but at other times could not be felt or located. One day when Major Taylor and I went through the ward this man came hurrying in from the kitchen where he had been helping the cook, just as we had finished our round and reached the door. Major Taylor told him to pull up his trousers, and bending over felt the knee. Suddenly he felt the elusive cartilage and catching it between his forefinger and thumb called to the Hospital Steward, "Bring me a knife." The Steward hastened to bring a scalpel while the man stood in the door with the Major holding on to the joint mouse. "Now hold still," he told the soldier, and with a single slash opened the joint and delivered the cartilage. Then handing the knife to the Steward he said to me, "Doctor, put a dressing on it," and out he walked. I did so and the wound healed by first intention, in spite of the fact that every rule of antiseptic and aseptic surgery had been disregarded. I found that in that dry climate scalp wounds healed without suppuration, if, after sewing them up, no dressing was applied but only a powder of iodoform mixed with powdered coffee. Infected vaccinations yielded promptly to exposure to light and air by rolling up the sleeve supplemented by a sun bath of half an hour twice a day. My assistant at Fort Leavenworth in 1914 was at first scornful, and afterwards surprised, when I had him take off his wet dressings and use this treatment.

During my service at Fort Sill I was quite often called upon by the Indian interpreter, a fine old man named Horace P. Jones, to render medical service to the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, on whose reservation the post was situated. In the winter of 1886-7 Jones came to me one day and asked me to go to see an Indian named Aricapape (Deer's Foot). He accompanied me to show me the way and act as interpreter. I found my patient in a tepee located for shelter in a

15½. thicket on the banks of Cache Creek some miles above the post. We tied our horses and entered the tepee, and at once had to sit down because of the smoke from a fire burning in the center of it which filled the upper part of the tepee with smoke. Sitting on the ground, or reclining, as was the usual position of the Indians, one was not annoyed by it. I found that my patient had a stoppage of urine from an old stricture, and on attempting to pass a catheter found that the smallest catheter I had with me would not go through. As the Indian was suffering great pain and declined to be taken to the post, I decided to perform an external urethrotomy; passing a sound down to the stricture, I cut down on the end of it and succeeded in cutting the stricture and giving him prompt relief. Jones, who acted as my assistant, sat on one side of the patient who lay on a very dirty blanket, while I reclined on my left elbow on the other side. This operation was performed without an anesthetic; local anesthetics had not at that time been discovered, the Indian being told to bear the pain patiently as it would not be for long. There were no antiseptic precautions except an effort to clean the very dirty skin. The patient was entirely relieved by this very primitive surgery, and equally primitive after-treatment.

I spent part of each summer in field service with the cavalry. The 9th was succeeded by the 3rd, and that by the 5th Cavalry, but the 24th Infantry stayed on until 1888. In the spring of that year I took two months leave and went home. At the expiration of my leave I was ordered to a new station, Fort Robinson in Nebraska.

16. During the four years that I had been at Fort Sill, I served with a large number of officers who came and went. A partial list of these made from memory is appended as it has a certain curious interest to see how few are left alive after forty years. Indeed, few survived on the active list until the World War. The grades are those held at the time; a star indicates that the officer reached General rank:

+Major Fred W. Benteen	9th Cav.	Capt. J.N. Morgan	24th Inf.
Capt. Patrick Cusack	“ “	*+Capt. A.C. Markley	“ “
*2nd Lt. Grote Hutchinson	“ “	+Capt. John L. Bullis	“ “
+Major Geo. A. Purington	3rd Cav.	+1st Lt. Wm. H.W. James	“ “
+*Capt. Henry W. Wessells	“ “	+1st Lt. C.J. Crane	“ “
+Capt. A.D. King	“ “	+1st Lt. A.A. Augur	“ “
+*1st Lt. James Allen	“ “	+1st Lt. J.J. Brereton	“ “
+*1st Lt. George A. Dodd	“ “	1st Lt. B.W. Leavel	“ “
+1st Lt. Henry L. Ripley	“ “	+1st Lt. A.C. Ducat	“ “
1st Lt. Franklin O. Johnson	“ “	+1st Lt. Wm. Black	“ “
+2nd Lt. Tyree R. Rivers	“ “	+1st Lt. A.M. Palmer	“ “
+2nd Lt. Charles N. Clinch	“ “	+1st Lt. James E. Brett	“ “
+Major John J. Upham	5th Cav.	+1st Lt. Henry W. Hovey	“ “
+Capt. S.C. Kellogg	“ “	+2nd Lt. Wendell L. Simpson	“ “
+Capt. Wm. C. Forbush	“ “	*2nd Lt. Carl Reichman	“ “
+*Capt. Earl D. Thomas	“ “	+2nd Lt. Geo. S. Cartwright	“ “
+*2nd Lt. John B. Bellinger	“ “	Medical Officers	
*Lt. Col. John E.P. Pearson	24th Inf.	+Major Morse K. Taylor	M.C.
+Capt. Lewis Johnson	“ “	+Capt. Daniel Weisel	“ “

So far as I know only eight of them are now alive. Lieut. Cartwright died in June, 1900, of yellow fever while a member of our Headquarters mess at Marianao, Cuba.

I then joined, at Fort Robinson, Neb., about the first of May, 1888. Captain Arthur W. Taylor was the Post Surgeon when I reported but he did not

17. stay long after and was succeeded by Major George W. Adair. On June 5th I left Fort Robinson with Conline's troop of the 9th Cavalry, which was under orders to go by marching to Fort Duchesne, Utah. We marched by way of Douglas, Old Fort Laramie, Rawlins, Bitter Creek, Rock Springs, Green River, and then leaving the line of the Union Pacific Railroad turned south over the Uintah Mountains to Fort Duchesne. On the Laramie Plains I saw a number of antelopes and killed several - my first big game. As we climbed out of the valley of Green River on July 3rd we saw to the south the blue range of the Uintah Mountains with its peaks capped with snow sparkling in the sun. The troop unconsciously stopped a moment to look at it. I had never before seen snow-capped mountains in July, and seen from the hot desert it was a thrilling sight.

At Rock Springs on the Union Pacific was a one-company infantry post placed there to keep order among the several thousand coal miners, there having been a massacre of the Chinese by the white miners some years before. Captain George I. Bushnell was the medical officer at this lonesome station in the middle of the desert. On July 7th we camped in a beautiful, grassy valley near the top of the mountains with a brook fall of trout running through it. I had my first trout fishing and caught 21 in a couple of hours. We reached Fort Duchesne July 11th after a hot, dusty march of 28 miles through an absolute desert. The distance from Fort Robinson to Duchesne was 632 miles. I returned to Robinson with another troop, and by another route through the N.W. corner of Colorado, which was about 80 miles shorter.

I found many agreeable people among the officers at Fort Robinson of the 9th Cavalry and the 8th Infantry and during my two years service there got acquainted with most of the officers of both regiments. Colonel Edward Hatch,

18. 9th Cavalry, was the C.O. when I joined - a fine handsome old man who died as the result of injuries caused by the four-in-hand team of his drag running away. In 1889 the first training camp since the Civil War was made at Fort Robinson, about 2,000 men, General John R. Brooke in command. He sent for me and ordered me to arrange to bake bread for the command. This job came to me instead of the Quartermaster, as it would today, because in those days the Post Treasurer who ran the bakery was usually the junior medical officer. In this way the C.O. headed off medical complaints as to the quality of the bread. General Brooke was a large, imposing looking man and I had never been in the presence of a general before since I reported to General Auger at Leavenworth on joining. But I had enough presence of mind to say, "Yes, Sir, where do I get my bakers and equipment." "Sit down here," he said, "and write me out a list of what you need and then go to the Regimental Commanders and ask for your men by my order." I asked how many men there were in camp, wrote out the list, saluted and went to hunt up my bakers. The general seemed pleased at my readiness to carry out this unusual order and was always after very kind to me, when I served under him in the Pine Ridge Campaign the next year, and in Cuba ten years later.

In August 1890 a Princeton scientific expedition headed by Professors W.B. Scott, brother of Major General Hugh L. Scott, and Wm. F. Magie, with 7 students came to the post to outfit for an expedition into the Bad Lands, on White River in South Dakota to look for the bones of extinct animals. They asked the C.O. to send me with them in command of the little escort of a corporal, 3 privates and a teamster. We found in the steep valleys of the Bad Lands many bones of the lower Miocene age, especially oriodons and menodus (a great rhinoceros); also innumerable turtle bones. We left Fort Robinson on August 5th and on

19. August 9th reached Oelricks where we found troops A and B, 8th Cavalry, in camp, Captain Wells in command and Dr. Leonard Wood (1st Lieut.) medical officer. They had been there since April. I returned to the post August 17th after a delightful trip of 235 miles. The Princeton party took the railroad further east. We saw very little game. I received orders Sept. 22, 1890, to accompany Co. F., 8th Inf. to Fort Washakie, Wyoming. They came from Fort Niobrara, Neb., by train to Casper, Wyoming, where they detrained. I and my horse took the train at Fort Robinson and joined them there 193 miles to the west of Robinson. Between Douglas and Casper the country looked like a desert with no grass or other growth than sage brush. They told us at Casper that there had been no rain since July 4th. First Lieut. Lynch and 2nd Lieut. Fred. Krug were with the Company. On September 23rd we marched 12 miles along the north bank of the Platte river to a place called Bessimer where was the beginning of a settlement and they were boring for oil. The Platte here ceases to flow north and turns east. Next day we left it and marched west on the old emigrant trail. I saw antelope but missed them. After we made camp on Willow Creek an antelope came to look at it and being fired at ran slowing in a semicircle under a running fire from many of the men. It then ran off in the direction where Lt. Krug was hunting sage hens with a shot gun. Krug lay down to escape the bullets whistling around him, and as the antelope ran nearly over him killed it with BB shot. Next day we saw many antelopes and sage hens. The men killed two antelope and I wounded two, but both escaped. On the 26th while hunting ahead of the command I came across an infantryman named Kenney who had killed a fine buck antelope and was not able to carry it. I lent him my horse to transport it to the wagon train which was in plain sight half a mile away, and told him I would wait for him to bring the horse back to me on the top of the next

20. hill which I pointed out to him. He took the wrong direction and I had to walk all the way to camp ten miles away thru heavy sand and without water, as my canteen was on my saddle. I passed several alkali lakes with a ring about each of soda as white as snow. We camped that night at Independence Rock.

On the 28th I killed two antelope, the second a large buck running at 400 yards. Even after removing the viscera I had great difficulty to lift him on to my horse which I blindfolded by buttoning my blouse over his head. He greatly disliked the smell of antelope and of blood, so I did not take off the coat until I had mounted with one antelope in front and the other behind. He then tried to buck but the weight was too great for him to do much and he settled down and brought me and them into camp, 16 miles, without apparent distress.

October 1st we crossed the divide and descended 1,200 feet to Beaver Creek. The country was very desolate, and all herbage devoured by great herds of sheep from the west. The antelope in this part of the country had been killed off by hunting parties of Shoshone Indians. We reached Lander Oct. 3rd, a pretty town of 400 inhabitants in an irrigated valley, and next day marched into Fort Washakie situated at the junction of the north and south forks of Little Wind River. These are clear, cold mountain streams full of trout. Our march from Casper to Washakie was 170 miles in 12 days.

Two miles east of Washakie is the famous Hot Spring which boils up out of the plain in a pool about 100 feet across and flows off in a bold stream to Wind River. The temperature is 105 F. at the edge and 115 F. in the center. In cold weather the cloud of steam is visible for many miles and is precipitated as a fine snow about the lake. The water seemed unbearably hot when we first stepped into it,

21. but the skin became accustomed to it so that one could swim about. Before I left we tried the Stanton bath named after the Paymaster General. This consisted of entering the pool and when accustomed to the heat to get out and roll in the snow and then jump back into the hot water. It was thus a Russian bath, and produced a very pleasant exhilaration followed by a desire to sleep.

On October 6th it began to snow and 20 inches fell in 36 hours putting an end to all travel over the stage road to Casper for some weeks. So I had to remain at Fort Washakie until the stage travel recommenced, and then went home in that way leaving my good little horse at Washakie to be sent to Fort Robinson in charge of the first military person coming across the country. I got to Fort Robinson about the end of October and had been there scarcely a month when a religious excitement among the Indians precipitated the Sioux outbreak known as the Pine Ridge campaign, and I was ordered to accompany the battalion 9th Cavalry (5 troops) under Major (afterward Major General) Guy V. Henry to Pine Ridge, S.D. There we camped alongside of the 7th Cavalry, Colonel Forsyth, which had come up from Fort Riley with a battery (Capron's) of the 1st Artillery. I had never served with artillery and when I went to call on them was anxious to see the guns and ammunition. The Lieutenant willingly showed me the former but said that the shells were all packed up. I found out later that they did not have any ammunition. It was being sent them by express from an eastern arsenal! There were also eight companies of 2nd Infantry and one of the 8th, under Colonel Wheaton. The medical officers of the command from Fort Riley were Captain John Van Rensselaer Hoff and Lieut. James D. Glennan. This was the beginning of a friendship with these two fine officers, which lasted as long as they lived. From Captain Hoff I learned

22. the rudiments of medical field service. Colonel Dallas Bache, Medical Director of the Department of the Missouri, was our Chief Surgeon. He was a very able and accomplished man and was a descendant of Benjamin Franklin.

On Christmas Eve all of the cavalry were sent out to intercept and capture a band of Sioux Indians of 106 warriors under Chief Big Foot and about 300 women and children who were coming south to join the Ogallala Sioux in the Pine Ridge Reservation. They evaded the 9th Cavalry battalion with which I was, and ran into the eight troops of the 7th Cavalry to whom they surrendered. When, however, Colonel Forsyth undertook to disarm them the warriors threw off their blankets and opened fire at a few yards distance with their magazine Winchester carbines. One officer and 29 men were killed and two officers and 29 men wounded in a very short time, while the band of Indians was nearly wiped out - many women and children being unfortunately shot in the melee and the pursuit.

Meanwhile, our command, after marching all Christmas Eve night and Christmas Day, received a dispatch just after we had made camp and eaten supper, telling of the fight and that the whole Sioux nation was on the war path. Major Henry was authorized to go north and join the 8th Cavalry on White River, or do whatever seemed best to secure the safety of his command. He at once broke camp and by a swift night march reached Pine Ridge with his wagons and impedimenta about sunrise. We were fired into about day break, but were not delayed. Later in the day his tired command was again sent out to help the 7th Cavalry who had gotten caught in a canyon. I was at work on the wounded at the field hospital when I heard that my battalion had been ordered out again. I at once hastened to the camp, got my

23. field case of instruments and the orderly pouch, borrowed a horse from the Chief Packer as mine was played out and refused to get on his feet, and hastened after them. I reached them just as they deployed to drive off the Indians, and so had the satisfaction of being for a few minutes under fire. Major Henry figured when we reached camp on the night of the 26th that we had ridden 108 miles in 48 hours.

I remained with this battalion at or near Pine Ridge all the winter in camp under canvas. As Major Henry used to often remark, "Our sufferings were in tents," but we really got through the winter very well though with the loss of some of our older horses and mules. Their hair grew so long that he remarked to me one afternoon as we watched them coming in from water how we could see it wave as they trotted past us. We got back to the post on the last day of March in a snow storm with about half of our men snow blind. They all recovered in two or three days, being kept in darkened barracks.

24. CHAPTER IV.

About the end of July, 1891, while at mounted pistol practice with Troop K, 9th Cavalry, I suffered a very severe accident. My horse, who did not enjoy pistol practice as much as I did, always went by the targets at a run instead of the usual hand gallop, and this made it difficult to cock and fire the big 45-caliber pistol with one hand quickly enough to get in all the shots. While I was firing over the bridle arm under these conditions my thumb slipped from the hammer as I cocked and the point of the pistol dropped so that the bullet smashed my left femur at the junction of the middle and the lower third, passed out just to the inner side of the popliteal artery and ploughed a long furrow in my calf. When my boot was pulled off it dropped out, very much flattened. The sensation was that of a blow from a club and I lost my balance and was thrown violently to the ground. My horse stopped instantly after I fell. I was six weeks in bed and very lame for six months after. The knee was entirely stiff for a long time, and I feared that I would have to be retired. Capt. Guy L. Edie, Assistant Surgeon from Fort Niobrara, was sent up to act as a consultant in the care of my case. I recovered with some shortening and an inward bend of the lower fragment.

In October I went home on sick leave, my knee being entirely stiff, and went to New York to consult my old preceptor, Dr. Wyeth. He took me into his private hospital and proposed to cut down on the large callus and relieve the adhesions. I was accordingly put under ether and Dr. Wyeth made ready to begin the operation. Before doing so he explained to my schoolmate, Dr. Carter S.

25. Cole, of New York, what he proposed to do and asked his opinion. Dr. Cole replied that it was in his opinion a risky and unnecessary operation, and that the callus would in time be absorbed sufficiently to release the muscles and permit function of the knee joint. Dr. Wyeth was so much impressed with what he said that, fortunately for me, he gave up the operation and I returned to my home in Lynchburg. There on Dec. 1st, 1891, I began my diary which I have kept ever since and upon which I will chiefly rely for dates and details in this sketch. I remained on sick leave until March 21st, 1892, spending my time in Lynchburg with occasional visits to Charlottesville and Washington. During this time when I placed my left leg over the right knee I observed slight flexion at the knee and by moving the foot up and down I soon acquired considerable motion.

On March 3rd I went to Washington and next day called on the Surgeon General, Charles Southerland, and his assistant, Colonel Charles R. Greenleaf, at the War Department and paid my respects. I learned of the Order S.O. No. 51 dated A.G.O. March 2, 1892, relieving me from duty at Fort Robinson and ordering me to report not later than March 25th at St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida for duty, relieving Major David L. Huntington, one of the authors of the famous Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion.

26. CHAPTER V. SERVICE IN FLORIDA, 1892-1897.

I left Lynchburg March 21st and arrived at St. Augustine on the afternoon of the 23rd. Here I spent two and a half happy years.

The small post of St. Francis Barracks in St. Augustine, Fla., had as garrison the headquarters and two companies of the Fifth Infantry under Colonel Nathan W. Osborne, a cranky and difficult old man. Perhaps some of his ill-nature may have been due to ill health as he died of Bright's disease on January 30, 1895. We had in those days no annual physical examinations and officers were never ordered to a hospital for examination and treatment. If they went to a General Hospital it was at their own volition and expense. But the peculiarities of the Chief were to me more than atoned for by the admirable qualities of his Adjutant and Quartermaster, First Lieutenants Hunter Liggett and Frederick Kimball. Liggett was at this time a tall, slender, handsome man of 35 with the frank and engaging manner and amiable disposition which have remained unchanged by years and the responsibilities of high command. He was even then an encyclopedia of military and historical information and his vast professional knowledge was thoroughly digested and at the disposition of his quick and practical mind. Fate was unkind to him when the Spanish War came and deprived him of any opportunity to distinguish himself either in Cuba or the Philippines, and he had to wait until he was sixty for the opportunity to show his great abilities. Captain Kimball died before the Spanish War.

As I have already stated my predecessor at St. Francis Barracks was Major D.L. Huntington, a very cultivated, agreeable man, who introduced me to his friends in civil life there and turned over the families under his professional care to me.

27. He was one of the coauthors of the great Medical History of the War of the Rebellion. I was assigned quarters on the second floor of the old Monastery building, built of the soft coquina stone, by the Spaniards. There I had a suite of four enormous rooms, the length of the suite being 87' and the breadth 23'. The front room looked out on the inlet and Anastasia Island with the ocean beyond, a view which was a constant delight to me. The little post was in the southern part of the city facing the bay with a tiny parade ground in front of the Monastery.

The officers stationed at the barracks were Colonel Osborne, Captain T.M. Woodruff, Lieutenants Chatfield, Hunter Liggett, Samuel Miller, Partello, DeFrees, Heavey and Frank Keech - all of the Fifth Infantry. I messed with Lieut. DeFrees. Major Mallory of the Engineer Corps was stationed in the town, a very handsome and delightful man - a widower.

My small 12-bed hospital, did not give me much professional work. I did also some outside practice and read medicine for an hour or two every day. These filled up the forenoon, but the afternoon and evening were devoted to amusements, sailing and fishing, bathing in the fine surf on Anastasia Island, and in the winter many dinners, teas, and balls. The summers were long and hot, but there was usually a good sea breeze all day from the southeast, and very few mosquitoes except when the land breeze blew, which was not over two or three times in the month as I recall. The winters were, of course, delightful and the town then was full of visitors from the north. I bought a horse, and between riding, swimming and later tennis and dancing, I had plenty of exercise and got my knee into good function, though I could never bend it beyond a right angle. This merry and care-free life lasted for two and a half years. There was in it more of late hours and drinking than was good for me as I recognized at the time, my diary

28. shows, but I did not neglect my professional and military duties, took good care of my patients, had a clean hospital and a well-instructed detachment of about six men and was considered a good medical officer. As I recall it, there was much less gambling and hard drinking among the officers at this post than at the western posts where I had served. When poker was played it was habitually “penny ante.”

This command underwent many inspections during the cool season, but I do not recall one between May and November. Among those who inspected us while I was stationed there were the Secretary of War, Daniel Lamont, accompanied by the Q.M.G., General Batchelder, Captain Davis, and Dr. Bryant, the President’s physician, the one-armed Major General Howard who tarnished his Civil War laurels by his connection with the corrupt Freedmen’s Bureau,² Major (afterwards Major General) Jos. Sanger, and Major H.O. Perley from the S.G.O. The Medical Director of the Department was Colonel Charles Page, to whom I had reported at Fort Leavenworth in 1884 when I joined the army. This fine old gentleman was now broken in health and had recently lost his wife, but he had always the same kindly courtesy. In October 1893 he wrote me that he would be down shortly and as there was a fishing trip being planned to Matanzas Inlet I wrote asking him to telegraph when he fixed on the date so that I would not be absent. The dear old man wired back, “Have papers ready for me on Sunday and go fishing.” Of course I did not go.

On September 25th and 26th, 1894, we had a great hurricane which drove the sea over the high granite sea wall and flooded the city. All the wharves were washed away and all craft in the bay were sunk or carried bodily over the

² On MG Howard, see O.O. Howard, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army (reprint, 1971, Books for Libraries Press) and William S. McFeely, Yankee Stepfather: General O.O. Howard and the freedmen (1968, Yale University Press).

29. sea wall into the streets. When the waters subsided a fisherman's sail boat was high and dry in the middle of our little parade ground. The conical roof of the bandstand was carried away and landed in Lieut. Kimball's yard on top of a government mule which had been taken from the flooded stable and tethered there. When the bandstand was lifted off of him he was found on his knees, but entirely unhurt. No mails were received for three days, and it was longer before telegraphic communication was restored. There was, however, no loss of life in St. Augustine.

In the second year of my tour I became engaged to Miss Louise Young, a lovely young girl whose parents were from New York but were temporarily residents of St. Augustine, but I had to wait a year, as one of my friends said, for her to let down her dress and put up her hair. In these days of bobbed hair and knee length dresses the phrase has no implications. We were married in St. Augustine October 10, 1894, the bride having recently celebrated her seventeenth birthday. We went to Virginia on a short leave, and when we returned found a new garrison of the 3rd Artillery in place of our friends of the 5th Infantry, who had been transferred to the new post Fort McPherson near Atlanta. I especially regretted the departure of my chum, Lieut. Hunter Liggett, but this was in any event in prospect as I had been notified. that I would be transferred to Key West Barracks in November. I was relieved by Major Daniel Caldwell and left St. Augustine with many regrets on Nov. 19th, going by rail to Tampa. There we took passage on the little steamer Mascotte and reached Key West at sunset on November 20th, 1894.

We selected as quarters the only unoccupied set in the post. I had sent

30. word to the quartermaster that I would not rank any one out of quarters if he would fix up this unoccupied set. It was the set farthest from the bay and next the gate, and on that side a lattice had at some former period been built to screen the porch. On this old lattice stood out conspicuously one new slat, which was the only evidence of the quartermaster's activities in the way of promised repairs to this very old building. It was at once named "The Bride's Slat," and was the cause of many jests at the Quartermaster's Department.

The defenses of Key West consisted of an old brick casemate fort named Fort Taylor on the west side of the town where was the channel, and along the beach on the south side several ruined brick towers, called Martello Towers, to prevent landing parties from the sea.

The barracks where the garrison lived were on the east side of the town and looked out to the north over the shallow Bay of Florida. The officers' quarters consisted of five old sets built in 1844, and one new set which was occupied by the Commanding Officer, Major John R. Myrick. As this set was built on the same plans and specifications as two sets constructed about the same time at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, it was quite unsuited to the climate. It had, however, the unique and great attraction of being the only set which had a bathroom and water closet, these discharging by a pipe into the nearby bay. There was no sewer system or water system in the post. The water supply of each household was supplied by the rain which fell upon their roof and was stored in their own individual cistern. One's water supply was, therefore, like one's bank account - a careful economy was necessary and it could not be overdrawn without trouble. I figured out my annual allowance from the area of my roof space and the average annual rain fall to be 65,000 gallons.

31. A BOOTLEG BATH TUB

I stated above that the Commanding Officer had the only bath tub at the post. I should have said the only official tub authorized by the Quartermaster General and connected up to a sewer. I found in my basement an old tin tub which I connected with the pump which brought water from the cistern. I arranged for the discharge from this "bootleg" tub to run into my little flower garden, much to the advantage of the latter in the dry season. The underlying coral rock was a vast sponge that took care of any amount of water of this sort. But the Quartermaster unwisely referred to this tub in some communication to Washington, which at once brought an angry reprimand from his chief, the Quartermaster General, and an order to take out the unauthorized tub at once as bath tubs not connected with sewers were very unsanitary. But I defended my "bootleg" tub stoutly and pointed out that the special conditions of the subsoil at Key West were altogether exceptional, and I also mildly suggested that the Commanding Officer and Surgeon on the spot were better judges of sanitary conditions than the Quartermaster General in Washington. The tub remained, but the correspondence, letters, etc. led to the drawing up of plans for a sewer system and sprinkle shower baths for the officers and men. Dr. Simon Baruch had been writing about this time in the medical journals in advocacy of shower baths and showing the great economy of water possible with them. These plans were completed before I left and afterwards carried out and they were, I believe, the first shower baths in the army. The soldiers bathed in the bay before their installment.

The old quarters consisted of two large living rooms with an attic above and an above-ground basement below and the building was enclosed by a broad veranda on all sides.

32. For two people it was an ideal tropical residence. Each set had a large chimney with an open fireplace in the living room which were looked upon as curiosities by the natives, and were said to be the only fireplaces in Key West. They became great centers of attraction for some days however during Christmas week, for on December 27th, 28th and 29th a cold northwest wind blew violently and the temperature fell to 44° F. I built a fire and all of our town acquaintances hastened to call on us as soon as the news got about. Temperatures of 19° in Jacksonville and 24° at Tampa were reported, and not only was the orange crop of Florida lost, but the citrus trees in northern Florida were killed. Plant life in Key West was not injured, but the cold winds sweeping over the shallow Bay of Florida for three days so chilled the water that the tropical fishes in it became torpid and were thrown by the waves up on the beach along the reservation by thousands. People came with baskets and bags and gathered up as many as they wanted of such varieties which they knew to be good, but so many were left that after the storm was over the Commanding Officer had to turn out a police party with an army wagon to take them away and bury them. Many of them were of odd shapes and some brilliantly colored.

Mr. Jefferson B. Browne, one of Key West's two most distinguished citizens (the other was Dr. Joseph Y. Porter) was quite a gourmet. He sent us some cow fish which he said were a great delicacy and only to be obtained when they drifted ashore after a cold norther. They were very odd little creatures, five or six inches long. They were triangular in cross sections, the belly being one side and encased in a shell composed of little hexagonal plates. Projecting from a hole in the front of this box was the head, shaped somewhat like that of a cow, while

33. through a porthole behind came the little flat tail. It had a large liver which Browne warned us by no means to throw away in cleaning them as it was the best part. We baked them in their shells and found them indeed excellent.

The garrison was composed of two companies of the 3rd Artillery and half a dozen officers as follows:

Major John R. Myrick
Captain Lewis Smith
Captain Henry C. Danes
1st Lieut. Joseph Calif
1st Lieut. Chas. W. Foster
2nd Lieut. Kenneth Morton

At Christmas we dined alone. On New Year's Day Captain Smith and Lieut. Calif, the Quartermaster, came at noon to wish us a Happy New Year. I gave them drinks and then we three went to call on Major Myrick and Captain Danes. Neither offered us a drink so we came back to my house and got one. Calif's comment on the celebration was that Mrs. Smith was an invalid, Lieutenant Foster was crazy, and that made up the garrison. It was in fact not a gay place. Major Myrick had two nice daughters, but was not himself a pleasant person and had a disposition which was very trying to put up with through the long, hot summers. I had occasion later to confirm Calif's diagnosis when the Inspector, Major Sanger came down to investigate Foster, who had delusions of persecution and was always in hot water. Foster very cleverly found out from Washington what I had told Major Sanger and proceeded to make trouble for me as long as he was at the post. There seemed to be no way in those days of getting rid of such people as long as they did not commit murder or arson.

Captain Danes was a very quiet retiring man who had graduated from West Point in 1867 and had been a subaltern in this regiment ever since for he did not become a Captain until after my arrival at the post after 25 years service

34. Calif had been an officer during the Civil War and had been a Lieutenant ever since. Such was the stagnation in promotion in the Artillery under regimental promotion with two 1st Lieutenants and one 2nd Lieutenant to each battery! He was a kindly old bachelor who lived with an old maid sister and his canaries and had, of course, long ago lost all initiative. If he hadn't already lost it the Commanding Officer would soon have taken it out of him. Captain Smith was a fine old Irishman, promoted from the ranks, a good soldier and kind hearted. We found him the most companionable officer at the post. Lieut. Morton was, I think, not at the post when I arrived. He afterward went into the Ordnance and is the only one of the group who is now living.

In the town were two interesting men, Mr. Browne a clever and able lawyer, who later became Chief Justice of the State Superior Court, and Dr. Joseph Y. Porter, who had resigned from the Army Medical Corps, and was for many years Health Officer of Florida. He was a recognized authority on yellow fever. At the Naval Station was Captain Winn, USN, and at the Marine Hospital, Surgeon George B. Young, M.H.S.³ These made up our world. It will be seen, therefore, that in its social opportunities and attractions Key West Barracks was a great contrast to my last post at St. Augustine. But we were by no means unhappy there. We read much and got a microscope, established a little laboratory, and began the practical study of bacteriology. We had chickens, and I even made a little flower garden about 15 feet square, the only one in the post. This was not easy as the layer of soil over the spongy coral rock was less than a foot in depth and had to be increased by bringing in soil from about the stable and the dump, or wherever I could find it. We soon had an abundance of flowers, especially a

³ Marine Hospital Service, name changed to Public Health and Marine Hospital Service in 1902, then Public Health Service in 1912.

35. large variety of coeuls of every shade.

The insurrection against the Spanish Government in Cuba had at this time begun to attract attention and interest in the United States. To preserve our neutrality and prevent shipments of arms and munitions to the Cubans, naval vessels were kept in these waters and usually made Key West their base. In this way we had opportunity to become well acquainted with the officers of a number of ships and made many delightful acquaintances. Among these ships were the Atlanta, Captain Cromwell; the Cincinnati, Captain Glass, Surgeon Bertollette, Surgeon Seigfield; the Alliance; the Raleigh, Comdr. Barnette. We had a pleasant acquaintance with Comdr. George Dewey who was at Key West on board duty with Comdr. Royal B. Bradford. Lt. Hillary P. Jones was on the Atlanta. The Raleigh spent much of the summer in Cuban waters, and we got to be very good friends with her officers, especially Bowyer, Philip Andrews, Richman, Fullam and Gibbons, and Doctors Derr and Shipp, and later Dr. Beyer. Dr. Derr had been on the Nippising in the hurricane in Samoa. He was very kind in helping me with my laboratory work, especially the recognition of the malarial parasite in the blood. I had also assistance in this subject from Doctors Bertollette and Beyer.

During 1895 Lieutenants Lemly, Satterlee, and Gardner joined the garrison. I had also a recruit at my house, a little girl was born quite unexpectedly, her mother being ill with dengue. I was alone in the house with my wife during this event. There were no telephones and I did not dare to leave to summon assistance.

The Spanish cruiser Infanta Ysabel spent some time in port, and in January 1896 the German cruiser Stosch, Captain Thiele. We took a great fancy to a young blonde lieutenant named Dominic on this ship, and I have often wondered whether he came safely through the World War, or lies at the bottom of the ocean in one of the sunken submarines.

36. In March 1896 I had an opportunity to visit the Dry Tortugas, which was not garrisoned, but used as a quarantine station for Key West. It is a small coral island sixty miles west of Key West and we made it in a small schooner with a fresh following breeze in six hours. The fort, built of brick and granite, is an enormous structure with two tiers of casemates and a third tier of guns in barbette, and is built to mount 500 guns. It was begun in 1846 and work was stopped on it in 1873 after \$16,000,000 had been spent on it - an enormous sum in those days. The masonry work is admirable, and all the metal work, hinges, locks, screws, bolts etc. is brass or bronze. The quarters were very commodious with large, lofty rooms. This fortress was intended to command the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico. In the harbor we found the Coast Survey steamer Bache, Lieut. Peck in command. The surgeon was Dr. R. Stitt, now Surgeon General of the Navy. The Bache came later to Key West and I formed a very pleasant acquaintance with him which has lasted through more than thirty years. At a visit at my house he spoke at some length and with some feeling, but without bitterness, for there is none in his kindly, gentle nature, of the lack of consideration and respect shown medical officers by line officers in the Navy. They certainly did not extend it, however, to the army, for I found them always most courteous and friendly, and they visited constantly at my quarters.

On the trip back to Key West I caught a magnificent kingfish, over two feet long, by trolling. It was afterward my undoing, for we ran into a squall with a rough sea and I, being never a good sailor, was trying to avoid seasickness by lying down in the cabin until the cook began to fry the fish for our dinner in the galley just near by. As soon as I smelled it I paid my tribute to Neptune. We had head winds and were 15 hours getting back home.

In April 1896, as there had been much talk of yellow fever the summer before,

37. I wrote to the Surgeon General, General Sternberg, asking for some more recent treatise on the subject than what I found in the Hospital Library He replied that there was none, but sent me a report made by him in 1890 which had been reprinted by the Marine Hospital Service.

In my sanitary report for May I made several recommendations, to wit: that ashes be used in the company earth closets instead of sand; that in the early morning setting-up drills the men be allowed to remove their blouses; that the morning drills be over by 8 AM and be followed by a sea bath; and that there be no duties between 12 and 3 PM. All were disapproved by the Post Commander. His objection to setting up drill without blouses was "that it was unmilitary," to which I replied by a quotation from Woodhull's Military Hygiene that "it was setting up drill and not tight clothes that made the martial tigers." This C.O. was a type of officer happily now rare in the Army in which a narrow mind was never broadened by large responsibilities, and was made more narrow by the petty details of life in small garrisons. When he left Key West no tears were shed, and it was said that not a soul from the garrison or the town went to the boat to bid him goodbye.

The battleship Maine, Captain Wise, came in on June 8th and spent part of the summer on this station coming and going. The wardroom officers were a very friendly and agreeable group and added much to our happiness during this long hot summer. Dr. Neilson was the senior surgeon. There were also an attractive group of cadets in what was called the steerage. They came often to my house, and once asked us, as a special favor, to dine with their mess, deep in the bowels of the ship. We did so, much to the amusement of our friends in the wardroom, and had a good time. They kept me from melting by playing an electric fan on me and supplying me with endless glasses of beer and cold punch. Two of these fine fellows met

38. tragic deaths - Breckinridge, the son of the Inspector General of the Army, from Kentucky, was washed from the deck of a torpedo boat before Havana, and Bagley was killed by a Spanish shell in the attack on Cardenas in the Spanish War. W.H. Gherardi was another of this fine group of cadets.

The Montgomery, Comdr. R.B. Bradford; the Newark, Capt. Farquhar, Lieut. Philip Andrews and Dr. Dunbar; the Marblehead, Captain Cotton, also came in during the summer.

We had a considerable smallpox epidemic in Key West during July, and on the 28th Major Walter Reed came down to study the blood of smallpox cases for a certain small amoeboid body which he had found in the blood of monkeys with vaccinia. He stayed six days in my house and so began a friendship which lasted until his death.

Colonels Gillespie and Haines of the Engineers, and Major Sanger, I.G. Dept., came about Thanksgiving Day to study the system of fortifications of Key West. Major Sanger gave the garrison an inspection and a war problem on the defense of Key West from an attack from the south. He complimented my handling of my part of it. During November, 1896, the 3rd Artillery garrison was ordered away, and replaced by two batteries of the 1st Artillery with Major John H. Calef in command. This gallant officer had graduated from the Military Academy in 1862, and served in the 2nd Artillery during the Civil War. His platoon is said to have fired the first gun at the battle of Gettysburg. He was short and thickset, and when he and Maj. Sawyer came in to see us when we were having a joyous Thanksgiving dinner they looked just like a pair of bantam cocks. He was a good soldier and an excellent Commanding Officer, but was not in good health and retired a year or two later. The garrison was much happier after his coming.

39. At Christmas General and Mrs. Fitzhugh Lee called on us en route to Havana. General Lee had been sent to Havana the preceding summer as Consul General because, to protect the lives and interests of American citizens, a man was needed who could not be intimidated or cajoled by Captain General Weyler. We ate Christmas dinner at Judge Jefferson Browne's in company with Richard Harding Davis, the writer, Frederick Remington, the artist, Lieut. Gibbons, U.S.N., and Capt. Merrill, USA, and had a very jolly time. Davis and Remington had come down as reporters for Hearst to get news of the Cuban insurrection, and he had sent the Vamoose, a very fast little steam yacht, for them to use in making landings on the Cuban Coast. On Dec. 30 we went to breakfast on the Raleigh as guests of Lieut. Fullam, Davis, Remington and two other "Filibusters," Meikleson and Mannix, being there also. After breakfast Davis took us for a sail in the Vamoose. Altho it was a smooth day she made great leaps and rolls when we got out into the rough water of the strait. She came near foundering later when they undertook to cross in her and struck the big waves of the Gulf Stream. Davis and Remington finally gave up getting in touch with the insurgents, and finally went to Havana on the mail steamer to see things from the Spanish side. I insisted on vaccinating them both while they were staying in Key West, and it was just as well, as in Cuba they spent the night in a house where was a case of small pox. We saw much of them during the two weeks that they were at Key West and found them very entertaining. I had met Remington before at Pine Ridge in January 1891. I had a pleasant reminder of their visit at Key West many years later when I was in France during the World War. I had a letter from General Frank R. McCoy written when he was with his command, the 163rd Infantry Brigade in September, 1918 at a rest camp at the front. He said he was reading one night the recently published "Adventures and

40. Letters of Richard Harding Davis," and that he sat up in bed when he came across the following in a letter from Key West written by Davis to his mother:

"At five o'clock I called at the garrison to take tea with the Doctor and his wife, who is sweeter than angels ever could be, with a miniature angel of a baby for a model."

41. CHAPTER VI.

On March 16, 1897, I got my orders to go to Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, as Post Surgeon exchanging stations with Captain Paul Clendennin. He arrived in Key West April 7, 1897, and I left on the 9th. The six months since the departure of the 3rd Artillery garrison and the arrival of the 1st Artillery units was far more pleasant than the preceding two years. My family had already preceded me to St. Augustine, as the baby had been ill with dysentery. We were the recipients of many flattering attentions when we left. As I had a month's leave we spent a few happy days there and then went on north, Mrs. Kean and the baby going direct to my home in Lynchburg, while I made a detour by way of Atlanta to see Liggett, by this time a captain, and my other good friend of the 5th Infantry. Taylor was the Post Surgeon at Fort McPherson, Drs. Wyeth and Wallis being his assistants. We spent Easter week with my people and then went on to Washington, where we spent two days as the guests of Major and Mrs. Walter Reed. We then made another stage of our journey to New York where we spent a pleasant week on Governor's Island visiting Colonel and Mrs. Worth, old friends, with whom I had served at Fort Robinson. He was in command there, a very agreeable station for him, as he had been born and brought up in New York where stands in Madison Square the statue of his father, Major General Worth. Colonel Worth was shot through the chest and both arms by one bullet at the battle of San Juan Hill, but recovered, was retired as a Brigadier General and died of cancer of the liver some years later.

I reached Boston on May 1st, 1897, and reported at Fort Warren next day. It is a casemate fort beautifully built of Quincy granite under the personal supervision of General Thayer, the father of the U.S. Military Academy. Outside

42. the walls of the fort were three sets of wooden quarters occupied by the Commanding Officer, Colonel Carle A. Woodruff, and the two Captains of the 2nd Artillery, A.D. Schenck and E.T.C. Richmond. The captains' quarters were identical with those occupied by the Commanding Officer at Key West, as I have before mentioned, showing that climate was not a matter considered by the Constructing Division of the Quartermaster Department at that time. I ranked both captains, but did not disturb them and moved into the casemate quarters vacated by Dr. Clendennin. These had walls six feet thick of solid granite, and on top 10 or 15 feet of earth. They were, however, very comfortable; there were no cold draughts and whatever dampness there was was quickly dispelled by an open fire. Inside of these thick walls no sound penetrated and the silence, especially at night, was almost oppressive. A doctor friend from Boston who spent the night with me said that it kept him awake! The soldiers' barracks and the hospital were also in casemates.

The officers stationed at Fort Warren when we arrived there May 1, 1897 were:

Major Carle A. Woodruff, Bvt. Lt. Colonel for Civil War service, entered the army in 1861

Captain E.T.C. Richmond, graduate of West Point, 1867

Captain Alex. D. Schenck, graduate of West Point, 1867

1st Lt. Erasmus M. Weaver, graduate West Point 1875, and a lieutenant ever since. He later became Chief of Artillery and was an able and distinguished officer.

1st Lt. Edward H. Catlin, graduate M.A.⁴ 1880 and a lieutenant ever since

2nd Lieut Dan W. Ketcham, graduate M.A. 1890.

1st Lt. Sebree Smith, Graduate M.A. 1870 and a lieutenant ever since

When I saw the Surgeon General in Washington I asked to be allowed to attend the Army Medical School and mentioned that I was rusty and wanted to be able to see things, that in 13 years of service I had never been stationed within 500 miles of a theatre or a clinic. He replied that he was too short of officers to let me go

⁴ Military Academy, i.e. West Point.

43. to the school, but that at Fort Warren I would be able to see all the theatres and clinics that my heart desired. When I got settled there and had time to look around and study the boat schedule I discovered that Fort Warren was some miles out in the Bay, that the boat only came three times a day, and that to see a clinic I would have to leave on the early boat before sick call, while for the theatre (except matinees) I would have to spend the night in Boston. But with a will and a kind Commanding Officer, as Colonel Woodruff proved to be, I found ways to get quite often to the hospitals, and often enough to the theatres. I met most of the distinguished medical men in Boston, and found them all most kind and obliging. Among them were Drs. Wm. L. Richardson, Conant, Mixter, Wright the pathologist, Bowditch, R.H. Fitz, Homans (who had formerly been in the Medical Department in the Civil War), Elliott Harrington, Gay, and O'Neill, the son of the Admiral. Most of these fine men had passed off the scene when I returned to Boston for station in 1919. Dr. C.B. Porter was head of the Surgical Service at the Massachusetts General Hospital, and gave me a standing invitation to go through his wards with him on Sunday morning. His House Surgeon was Dr. F.A. Washburn, who served as a Surgeon of Volunteers in the Spanish War, and organized and commanded Base Hospital No.6 in the Massachusetts General Unit in the World War. He has now been for many years Superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital where he is generally known as the Colonel. The well known surgeon and teacher in Harvard Medical School, Dr. Chas. Allen Porter, is the son of Dr. C.B. Porter.

On February 16 while I was shaving before breakfast, Mrs. Kean came in with the morning paper in her hand to tell me that the Maine had been blown up in Havana Harbor the day before. "That means war" was my comment. As we knew almost every officer on board the Maine we were much concerned until we learned that the

44. explosion destroyed the stem of the ship where the sailors were quartered and caused the loss of 266 of them, but did not involve the officers' quarters in the stern. I then began to prepare for war in my studies and other activities. I made an estimate of the number and disposition of the National Guard and Army troops which would be stationed on the New England coast fortifications with the medical and hospital supplies that they would need, and found that they could be supplied by Boston dealers without having to call on the National Guard Supply Depot. The Surgeon General's office courteously acknowledged this report, but stated that war was not anticipated. When, less than a month later, war was declared and I applied for service at the front, I was informed that this report of mine had shown such an excellent understanding of conditions and needs in New England that I would be kept there! On March 17th I was invited to a meeting and dinner of the Sons of the American Revolution in Boston, this date being always celebrated in Boston as Evacuation Day, the date when the British Garrison was withdrawn in 1777. [sic. The evacuation was in 1776.] I was enjoying the excellent dinner and wines when much to my consternation I was called on to speak. My wits usually abandon me on such occasions, but as something had to be said, I spoke what was in my mind as I listened to the preceding speakers. I said that for a number of years I had been a member of the Virginia Chapter of this Society, but that as I had been stationed in the West and South I had never before had an opportunity to attend a meeting of it. I had always been under the impression that the purpose of it was to keep in mind and celebrate the patriotism and virtues of our Revolutionary ancestors, but that tonight all the speeches had reference not to the Revolution where Virginia and Massachusetts fought gloriously side by side, but to an unfortunate family quarrel in which they had discussed a constitutional difference with equal heroism and determination, but on opposite sides. I thought I saw, however, imminent in the near future a war cloud which would again

45. bring Massachusetts and Virginia together shoulder to shoulder in the cause of liberty, and I welcomed it both for the sake of bleeding and oppressed Cuba and because it would lead us away from the memories of fratricidal strife. These brief remarks were much applauded and there was no more Civil War talk that night. I dropped my membership in the Society as a futile business and have never renewed it.

War was declared on April 21st.⁵ There were at that time only two or three modern guns mounted in Boston Harbor to defend one of the richest cities in the world, although three or four more were on hand, and were hastily mounted. The fortifications were all armed with the huge smooth-bore Rodman guns of the vintage of 1865 and the garrison still were drilled at them. Only half a dozen rounds of ammunition per gun were on hand and several weeks went by before any additional ammunition could be obtained. When it came Colonel Woodruff asked permission to have target practice stating that not a man in his garrison had ever fired one of the new rifled 10-inch guns. This was refused on the advice of the Chief of Ordnance because the ammunition could not be spared!

The War was a great surprise to the people of Boston who seemed to think that war was an obsolete procedure, and that anyway, it could not come until they had been consulted and had a town meeting to consider the matter. They were also much alarmed when it was realized that the great and rich city was in fact defenseless against a modern fleet. Seaside hotels and cottages were not in demand that summer. The air was full of rumors and the Army women and children were hastily bundled out of Fort Warren when it was reported that Cervera's fleet had been sighted off the Maine coast headed for Boston. It turned out to be a string of

⁵ By Spain; the U.S. Congress declared war on 25 April.

46. coal barges in tow of a tug. But there was at least one exponent of preparedness in Boston, a young lieutenant of engineers named Sewell who was in charge of the Engineer District in the absence of his chief who was away all the spring on the celebrated Carter court martial. Sewell went around to the General Electric offices and wherever technicians were to be found, and persuaded the heads of companies and firms to make an agreement to supply men and materials in case of war for the defense of Boston. They considered it a safe patriotic gesture, but immediately when war was declared he called on them to fulfill their commitments. Fort Warren suddenly swarmed with electricians and men to lay cables, while the wharf was crowded with long rows of mines and torpedoes. The harbor was mined long before the guns were ready and so Boston had at least one element of its defense in being.

I was sent off to Fort Ethan Allen to take charge of the physical examination of the Vermont Volunteers for muster into service, and from there, about the first of June, I was called home to my father's death bed. A few hours after his funeral I set out for Boston where I turned over my duties to Major C.B. Byrne, M.C., and hastened off to Jacksonville, Florida where General Fitzhugh Lee recently appointed a Major General of the U.S. Volunteers was organizing the VIIth Army Corps which the President promised him he should lead in the attack on Havana. General Lee rescued me from Fort Warren by applying for me. I had received a commission as Major Brigade Surgeon of Volunteers [sic. This should read Major of Volunteers and Brigade Surgeon], and on reporting to Lt. Colonel L.M. Mans, the Corps Chief Surgeon, was designated Medical Inspector of the 2nd Division in camp at Camp Cuba Libre near Jacksonville. The 1st Division on VII A.C. was in camp at Miami 400 miles away while of the 3rd Division only three regiments were in camp. The 2nd Division under General Arnold was complete with three brigades of three regiments each. The 2nd Division Hospital was the only hospital thereabouts where definitive treatment

47. could be had although the regimental surgeons showed a strong inclination to expand their regimental hospitals and immobilize them by the admission of typhoids and other seriously ill cases. The division hospitals were also supposed to be mobile, and it was on this ground that the Chief Surgeon refused to allow me to have trained women nurses when I came in command of the 2nd Division Hospital on the 3rd of August and found over a hundred cases of typhoid fever there under the care of an untrained irresponsible bunch of Hospital Corps men, most of them culls from the regiments. As is well known the War Department, in the hasty and ill considered Act which it drew up to authorize a Volunteer Army for the Spanish War, authorized Volunteer Surgeons and Hospital Stewards, but failed to provide any privates. This made endless trouble.

The hospital had been under Major Edouard Boeckmann of St. Paul, a surgeon of St. Paul, Minn. and a fine old man who was, however, quite as untrained as his command in military administration. On my first visit of inspection to the hospital he had taken a great liking to me and had begged me with insistence to put my tent at the hospital instead of at the Division Headquarters where I belonged. It was indeed the medical storm center of the camp, and as soon as I was located there Major Boeckmann referred everything and everybody to me, and devoted himself to the professional work for which he felt himself much better equipped. So I became his Executive and ran the hospital in that capacity until soon after he was promoted to Chief Surgeon 1st Division, when I was put in command.

Before starting on my new job I took a day's holiday and on Sunday, August 14, went over to Fernandina where my friend Hunter Liggett was Adjutant General of the 3rd Division IV Corps in camp there and spent a happy day with him. I saw there also my old friend Major Earl D. Thomas, 5th Cavalry, who was Inspector of the Division.

48. This order was received August 13 and also relieved me as Medical Inspector 2nd Division. This was perhaps the most arduous and trying undertaking that came to me during my forty years of active service. The personnel, both commissioned and enlisted was, as stated above, quite untrained and the latter, with some exceptions, of poor quality. The typhoid infection, which was widespread through the camp, soon became an epidemic and the number of patients increased much more rapidly than I could get equipment for them and attendants to care for them.

The patients came in so rapidly that at one time I had to ask for details from the regiments to assist the Hospital Corps men in caring for them. As I had no trained assistants the amount of detail thrown on me was most burdensome. On looking back, I think that I erred in not devoting my time to training assistants to do it instead of trying to do it myself.

The rapid growth of the hospital is shown by the number of patients:

July 13	Patients in hospital	167
July 31	“ “	262
August 15	“ “	374
August 23	“ “	438
August 31	“ “	522
September 19	“ “	607

On August 23rd my hospital personnel was:

Medical Officers	10
Hospital Corps men	144
Detachment from Ambulance Corps	100
Detachments from the regiments	<u>90</u>
	344

The detachments from the regiments were of very little value and gave much trouble, but I asked for them about August 20 in desperation when I had only the 144 Hospital Corps men and had not been able to get any more from the Corps Surgeon. This request of mine which he did not approve spurred him to action and he ordered a detachment of 50 men to be sent me from each of the two Ambulance Companies.

49. The Armistice had been proclaimed on August 12th and so the probability of the need of these companies had disappeared. These detachments relieved my present and urgent need of hospital attendants, but the nursing was far from being such as typhoid patients required, and so I appealed to the Chief Surgeon, Colonel Maus, to get me trained women nurses. He said that this could not be considered as a division hospital was a field organization and women nurses could not be taken into the field. My reply was that a hundred typhoid cases in a hospital immobilized it completely so that it could not take the field and its name had better be changed if that was the difficulty as trained nurses must be had. He then agreed to ask the Surgeon General for them. Meanwhile, however, I had accepted five who were offered by a generous citizen of Philadelphia and began to make my arrangements for their accommodation. Soon others began to come from the Medical Department and the medical service began at once to improve. I obtained an excellent Canadian nurse, Miss M. Eugenie Hibbard, who, as Chief Nurse, gave admirable service at this camp and later in Cuba and on the Canal Zone. Difficulties arose as to the paying and housing of the trained nurses, but these were finally overcome by persistence and determination.

When the hospital began to grow rapidly I rearranged it on a more methodical plan, making the wards radiate like the sticks of a fan from a large central tent which was the office for the admission and discharge of patients and the keeping of the medical records. Each ward was composed of four ward sections and each ward section of two hospital tents joined together. The interval between the ward sections was one tent space which was covered by a tent fly, so in rainy weather one could go the length of the ward without getting wet. I persuaded the Division Quartermaster, Major Chauncey B. Baker, to floor all of my tents and to

50. lay the floor in a continuous strip from one end of the ward to the other. When the radiating wards were full I began a series of parallel wards to the south of them (marked B. on the plan [not found in the Kean Papers]). The hospital was located in a pine grove, and I preserved the trees as far as possible for their shade. After the tents were floored, I insisted that they should be framed and screened, with screen doors at the ends of the ward sections. Then opposite the interspaces between the ward sections I got the quartermaster to place small structures like dog houses in which were placed the bed pans after use. These were emptied and cleaned at frequent intervals by negro scavengers hired by the Quartermaster Department. Thus offensive sights and odors were removed from the wards and flies were kept away from infectious discharges. Equal pains were taken to secure neatness in the mess room and kitchen so that the hospital gradually assumed an attractive appearance.

On Sept. 19th I had 26 officers, 70 female nurses, and 330 Hospital Corps men on my rolls, and 607 patients. On Sunday Sept. 25th the hospital was inspected by the Secretary of War, Mr. Alger, Surgeon General Sternberg and the Quartermaster General. I had fortunately two days notice, so that everything was clean and ship-shape and all nurses and attendants were at their posts in clean fresh clothing. I received many compliments and the Secretary invited me to lunch with him and took me down in his own carriage. General Sternberg was also much pleased and always thereafter treated me with great consideration. My prestige was increased by the contrast of my hospital with that of the Third Division, which was inspected in the afternoon, and was over-crowded, dirty, and abounding in bad smells. It had been started later than mine and under many disadvantages. A few days after this inspection I was given ten days leave and took a car full of convalescents north so as to secure free transportation. I had, for 45 days, worked 19 hours a day without a day off and needed the rest. We disposed of the last of our patients at

51. Jersey City, and then I joined my family in Boston. On October 9th I left Boston and stopped over in Washington two days where I met the Corps Chief Surgeon, Colonel Maus, and returned to Jacksonville with him. While in Washington the Surgeon General arranged for me that the Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Commissary of the 1st Wisconsin Regiment, which was ordered home for muster out, should be left in Jacksonville and assigned to my hospital as they wished to remain in service. This was considered an extraordinary proposition and the Surgeon General said it could not be done, but I went with him to see the Adjutant General, and after some argument, we put it over. My troubles were now mainly over, the hospital ran smoothly and began to diminish in size, and the personnel were well trained. On October 20 I was ordered to prepare a hospital to go to Savannah, to which the Corps was moving as a part of embarkation. This was done, and a new 2nd Division Hospital was established there, without patients. On October 27 I was appointed Chief Surgeon of the 1st Division, General J. Warren Keifer Commanding. I left the 2nd Division Hospital with much regret.

After a trip back to Jacksonville to wind up my affairs, I moved my tent on November 5 to the Headquarters First Div. at a camp 2 1/2 miles from Savannah on the fork of Thunderbolt and Bonaventure Roads. General Keifer was a fine old man, a veteran of the Civil War in which he had been risen to Brigadier General and been severely wounded. We became mutually attached to each other, a friendship which has lasted to the present time, as he is still living in his 93rd year at Springfield, Ill. (He died April 22, 1932 in his 97th year.) [BG Kean's handwritten addition.]

The war was over and the authorities were apparently in no hurry to get us to Havana, perhaps wishing that all the Spanish troops be sent home before our arrival. At any rate we had a very pleasant stay of several weeks in Savannah. We had left in Jacksonville those of our typhoid patients who were not yet sufficiently convalescent to be sent home and so there were few sick and the medical service had a well-earned rest. It was an infinite relief to be rid of that plague.

52. A small outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis in one regiment was our only trouble at Savannah. Advantage was taken of this leisure to examine professionally the "silver doctors" as the Contract Surgeons were then called. The examinations were oral and not unduly rigid, but about one-third of them were discharged as professionally deficient.

The Second Division sailed during the first half of December being followed by the First. I went with General Keifer and his staff December 27th on a nice little ship, the Panama which the Navy had captured from the Spanish, arriving in Havana just before sunset on the 29th.

On January 1st, 1899 at noon I saw our flag hoisted over the fort of Morro and Cabanas amid wild demonstrations of delight from the Cuban population. The VII Army Corps marched in review before Generals John R. Brooke and Fitzhugh Lee at the plaza in front of Hotel Inglaterra. The Corps went into camp near Quemados de Marianao on the hills southwest of Havana, and across the Almendares River from the city. The hospital ship Missouri arrived on January 11th, Major Wm. H. Arthur in command and brought from Savannah the families of several medical officers, including my wife and little daughter. We located them in a rented Cuban house in Quemados.

On January 24th I attended the autopsy of a private of the Engineer Battalion which proved to be a case of yellow fever - the first that I ever saw. On Jan. 26th I went to Havana and called on Colonel R.M. O'Reilly and Major William C. Gorgas. It was my first meeting with these two men who became afterwards so distinguished and such warm friends of mine and I was greatly pleased with both.

On February 3rd I went in an ambulance with General Keifer to Guines, an important town across the island. We had an escort from the VII Cavalry, Lieut. Tommy Tompkins in command. We drove over a beautiful paved road, but the rich country was all laid waste and deserted except an occasional fortified village protected by a blockhouse with barbed wire. It was the first time that I had ever seen or heard of the use of barbed wire for entrenchments.

53. Guines was one of the towns into which Captain Gen. Weyler had collected the country population in his policy of reconcentration. As he made no effective arrangements to feed them they perished, men, women, and children, from starvation and disease. Of the 14,000 reconcentrados at Guines, 11,000 were reported to have perished. I saw at the Municipal Hospital about a hundred of these poor creatures dying of consumption and in a state of utter destitution. We visited a great sugar plantation near Guines called La Prudencia and met the owner, Don Pascuel Geochichera, and his young daughter, both of whom spoke excellent English. The estate covered 12,400 acres and would produce this year 3,000 tons of sugar.

On Feb. 6th a letter came from the Surgeon General stating that my appointment as Chief Surgeon of Division with the rank of Major had been sent in. It was soon followed (on Feb. 18, 1899) by my promotion to Lieut. Colonel, Corps Chief Surgeon. Meanwhile on Feb. 6th the Corps Chief Surgeon, Lt. Col. L.M. Maus was ordered home and I was made Corps Chief Surgeon. The small promotion given the medical corps is shown by the fact that this was considered a great promotion, I being under forty years of age and the only officer of my grade in the Regular Medical Corps (Captain) who became a Lieut. Colonel of Volunteers. On Feb. 23rd General Maximo Gomez, the Cuban General-in-Chief arrived in Marianao and was received with great honor by the Cuban Army and populace. In the evening a great banquet was given him to which I went with General Lee and Colonels Strong, Dorst, and O.E. Wood of his staff. Only two ladies were at the table, the widows of President Cespedes and of General Marti, but standing behind our chairs were lines of handsome women dressed all in white. Generals Brooke and Ludlow were also there, and from the Navy, Commodore Cromwell, Captain Cooper and Commander Eaton. There were many speeches but General Gomez said not a word.

54. On February 27th I rode on horse-back to Havana and called on Colonel Charles R. Greenleaf and Colonel R.M. O'Reilly who were staying at the Alfonso Trece Hospital. This was an enormous military hospital, chiefly of temporary buildings, which our army had taken over and which was then under the command of Major Fitzhugh Carter, M.C. I rode home about dark in a pouring rain.

On March 2nd I saw a case of yellow fever from the 4th Illinois Infantry. A week later I went to Havana with my wife on a visiting and shopping expedition and we dined at the Louvre restaurant. General Lee came in with Captains Sigsbee and Chadwick. He beckoned to me to come to him and told me that he was going to Cienfuegos in the morning with the fleet, and I was to take a message to General Keifer to send Grimes' battery to the crest of the hill at General Arnold's headquarters to fire a salute to Admiral Sampson as the fleet went by. I did so, and I saw them steam by next morning going west, close to the shore, the New York leading. The salute was returned by the New York.

The Secretary of War came to Cuba on a visit of inspection during March and was given a review by General Lee on March 27th. In the review were 7 regiments of infantry, 8 troops of cavalry (the Seventh), and two batteries of artillery. It was the last formation of the VII Corps as orders had already come for its muster-out, and the regiments soon began to go home. On April 17th I was mustered out at Lieut. Colonel, and appointed one of the 34 medical Majors of Volunteers authorized under the last Army Appropriation in addition to the 30 new volunteer regiments. The staff of the VII Army Corps disbanded on the 20th and that of the Military Department of the Havana Province was announced, I being the Chief Surgeon. The city of Havana was not included in this Department, it being a separate Department under General Ludlow with Major Gorgas as his Chief Surgeon.

55. I had been living since my wife and little daughter came to Cuba in a rented house at 27 Carvajal St., Quemados de Marianao, the part of the town nearest to Camp Columbia. The name of this street was afterwards changed by the Cubans to Calle General Lee (General Lee Street), as they held him in great honor because he had protected many of them by his humane intervention when he was Consul General at Havana in the two stormy years preceding the Spanish War. Major Paul Clendennin, a Captain in the regular Medical Corps, and his wife shared this home with me, as did (for a brief period), Drs. Ira C. Brown and Wertenbaker. Both of the latter suffered severe attacks of typhoid fever this summer. Clendennin had preceded me at Key West Barracks, and we had served together in the VII Army Corps. He left us on April 20 to go to Santiago for duty, and perished there of yellow fever on July 4th.

To return to our house, it was of the usual Cuban pattern, one story with a front porch from which one entered a large sala paved with tile, on each side of which was a row of bed rooms. At the rear was a large patio with the kitchen and servants' room on one side, and a high brick wall on the other two. In the center of the patio was a large lime tree which seemed to have always on it an abundant supply of limes, as well as blossoms and green fruit. It seemed to have no resting period, in which respect it differed from another interesting tree which grew in the side yard. It was a large tree something like a walnut in its growth, but entirely bare of leaves or any evidence of life. When five months went by and the weather had been for some time quite warm, I concluded that it was dead, but about the middle of May it put forth shoots and green leaves like those of a hickory tree. I learned to my surprise that it was a cedro - the delightful Spanish cedar from which cigar boxes are made, and, in Cuba, much furniture. When freshly worked it is as fragrant as sandalwood, and I often, in passing a carpenter's shop, would be attracted by the odor and go in to put a handful of shavings in my pocket. I had imagined the Spanish cedar to be an evergreen

56. conifer like our cedars, and never a deciduous broad-leafed tree.

On April 3rd I went with General Lee to Piñar del Rio, which was the capital of the province of that name, and at that time a separate military department, although it was later added to General Lee's department. This province is almost exclusively engaged in the cultivation of tobacco, and produces the finest cigars grown in Cuba or in the world. We had an interesting visit there with the Department Commander, and his Chief Surgeon, Major Wm. L. Kneedler, with whom I spent the night. On our way home next day we left the train at a small station and drove fourteen miles in *volantes*, the primitive but comfortable two-wheeled carriages of the country, to San Diego de los Banos, formerly a celebrated watering place in the mountains. The baths had been destroyed by a cloudburst two years before, and the place was now nearly deserted. The hotel keeper showed us with much pride in his guest book the name of General U.S. Grant and his aide, besides many other names of distinguished visitors in former years. On our way home next day, April 25, I had a chill on the train and was sick with malarial fever for four or five days.

My diary during May and June is pretty much taken up with the occurrence of typhoid fever in the troops which were in camp under canvas, and my efforts to check the disease, and to have rational sanitary arrangements introduced into the barracks and quarters of the new post, Columbia Barracks, which was being built along side of the camp. The Commanding General of the Division of Cuba at that time was General John R. Brooke, his Chief of Staff was General Adna R. Chaffee, and the Chief Quartermaster was Brig. General of Volunteers Chas. P. Humphrey, who afterwards became Quartermaster General. This officer was a man of abundant energy and much administrative ability. His main defect was that he did not know how to delegate authority, and was inclined to pay small attention to the

57. opinions of people that he did not know or did not like. I got to be quite fond of him afterwards when he was Quartermaster General and I was an Assistant of the Surgeon General and did much business with him. At this time however he was my bete noir. His ideas of sanitation were those of the old army, and to my recommendations he paid not the slightest attention even when they were reinforced by the approval of [the] Div. Chief Surgeon, Colonel O'Reilly.

Our greatest controversy raged over the subject of the sewer for Columbia Barracks. Early in the year, as soon as the construction of a military post near Marianao had been decided on, the Chief Surgeon wrote to the Surgeon General recommending that a sewer of temporary construction be put in at once for it. This was ordered by the Secretary of War and \$30,000 allotted. It was promptly built by the Army engineers of iron pipe about 10 inches in diameter, and for most of its course lay above ground along side of the narrow gauge railroad running from Marianao to the little village called the Playa on the beach where it emptied into the sea. As I recall, it was about a mile long and the Camp Columbia end was about 160 ft. above the outfall. It was completed by the engineers several months before the barracks were built, and during that time that no water ran through it, it expanded with the heat of the tropical sun during the day, and contracted at night, or when it rained, so that it became disjointed in many places and thrown into curves like a huge serpent. When the construction of the barracks began I insisted that this sewer should be connected up to the building, and that it would work all right if it were used. General Humphrey however treated this proposition with scorn saying that it would not work because "it looped itself in places, and there was no fall at the lower end for several hundred yards." It happened that neither General Humphrey, nor his Chief of Staff, General Chaffee and General Brooke had had a college education, or any equivalent thereof, and none of them knew enough of physics

58. to understand that if water is placed in a pipe a mile long and one end 160 ft. above the other, it has to be discharged at the lower end. General Humphrey therefore decided on a scheme of conservancy of his own, modeled, I believe after the dry earth system used by the British troops in Jamaica. He placed in the latrines an iron wheelbarrow under every seat; no provision was made for supplying dry earth or emptying the wheelbarrows. The post was completed and General Lee ordered to move troops into it with this ridiculous system in place. No arrangements were made for the disposal of slops and waste waters; these were supposed to be hauled off in cans by mules teams. I strongly opposed the occupation of the post until a sewerage system was provided, and persuaded General Lee to appoint a Board of Survey to consider the matter. This Board, of which I was a member, condemned the Quartermaster's sanitary arrangements in such vigorous and picturesque language that there was some talk of bringing us before a court martial for disrespect to a superior authority. We won the fight. General Humphrey then proposed to put in a new sewer of his own planning and construction, but this was disapproved on account of the delay and heavy expense. When I appealed to the Chief Surgeon, Col. O'Reilly, for help in this fight with the Chief Quartermaster, he told me that he had never been consulted about it, and had no authority or influence in the decision of sanitary questions involving expenditure of money. Finally an appeal was made to Washington, and orders came to connect up the engineers' sewer and use it. Money was allotted for this purpose on Sept. 21 and as General Humphrey left Cuba soon after, sanitary matters ran more smoothly. It may be said that the sewer, as soon as it was connected up and put to use, functioned perfectly during the whole period of both American military governments in Cuba, and was working in a perfectly satisfactory manner when I left Cuba at the end of the second intervention in 1909.

59. On May 1st 1899 I went on a very interesting and agreeable tour of inspection with the Chief Surgeon, Colonel O'Reilly. We drove by ambulance to Guanajay along a fine paved road bordered on both sides by ponciana trees covered with brilliant blossoms of red and yellow - the Spanish colors. The Cubans say that these colors are emblematic of the two dominant Spanish passions - for blood and for gold. To Piñar del Rio (which was 125 kilometers beyond Guanajay) we went by train and spent a day and two nights very agreeably there with Major William L. Kneedler, the senior medical officer at the camp near that city, which is the most western town of any size in the island, and the center of the tobacco industry.

On May 4 I had a pleasant visit from Major Walter Reed who had come to Cuba to investigate an outbreak of fever in the camp of the 5th Cavalry at Puerto Principe. He found that it was typhoid fever, and in his report to the Surgeon General made some rather sharp comments on the failure of the medical officers to apply the lessons of the Spanish War which had been deduced by the Typhoid Fever Board, of which he was the President, from the studies of the camp epidemics of the Spanish War. His stay was brief - a week or ten days - as I recollect.

This summer was one of great anxiety, not on account of yellow fever of which there was very little this year, but because our old enemy typhoid was constantly with us and we could not get our recommendations for its control carried out. This is dwelt on to show what great advances have been made by the Medical Service in the first quarter of the century in having attention paid by the military authorities and the Quartermaster Department to its advice.

On July 5, 1899 a telegram came that Captain Paul D. Clendennin, M.C., had died on the 4th of yellow fever at Santiago where he was stationed. Dr. Fabricius in charge of the laboratory there died June 25th, and my old friend

60. Captain Thos. M. Woodruff, 5th Inf., on the 11th of July. General Wood, who was in command there, had the barracks vacated, and the command placed in two camps. This brought the outbreak to an end as far as our soldiers were concerned, but there had been over 100 cases with a death rate of 20%. Although Mrs. Clendennin nursed her husband in his last illness, she did not take it. She had a son born six weeks after his death. We had a death from yellow fever in the 7th Cavalry camp at Marianao on July 15th, but it did not spread. Fortunately the camp conditions which are favorable for the spread of typhoid are unfavorable for yellow fever. Due to the refusal of the Chief Quartermaster to allow the sewer to be connected up, we did not get the troops into the Barracks at Columbia until September.

On July 22 Secretary Alger resigned as Secretary of War and Elihu Root was appointed in his place, a change which was immensely advantageous to the Army.

Major Ira C. Brown and Captain Wertenbaker, M.C., U.S.V., who lived in the same house with me on General Lee Street in Marianao, both came down with severe cases of typhoid fever during the summer. Also a nice jolly Cuban girl of 18, who lived across the street, died of "perniciosa," which was the accepted name for yellow fever in Cuba. Major A.W. Stark, U.S.V. (Captain M.C.) joined at Columbia Barracks Sept. 25, 1899, replacing Major S.P. Kramer, U.S.V., a very clever medical man, but not a good army administrator. The quarantine against Cuba by the Public Health Service was raised November 4th.

Colonel R.M. O'Reilly left Cuba Nov. 11th, and was succeeded as Chief Surgeon by Col. Calvin DeWitt who arrived Dec. 13, 1899.

I moved Nov. 29 into a large house on Maceo St., Marianao which we shared with Gen. Fitzhugh Lee and Major O.E. Wood and their families.

A draft of a bill came from the S.G.O. with the Surgeon General's letter to

61. the Secretary of War, Mr. Root, asking for an increase in the Medical Corps. He asked for the following additional officers: 4 colonels, 10 lieut. colonels, 30 majors, and 80 at the bottom of the list, 124 in all. General Leonard Wood, recently promoted to Major General U.S. Volunteers, arrived on December 20 to succeed Major General John R. Brooke. This promotion and change made some bitter feeling among the general officers as General Wood's rank in the Regular Army was that of captain, six files below me.

On March 10, 1900 Gen. Fitzhugh Lee gave a review followed by a reception to the Secretary of War. Generals Wood, Chaffee and Ludlow were there. Major Walter Reed came out to see it with Major Carter. It was an imposing and brilliant review. Reed came to take dinner with us next day and I saw him quite often. He had come down to investigate a plant built by the engineers to make a disinfectant called 'Electrozone' out of sea water. Reed reported that it made a weak solution of hypochlorite but at greater cost than a solution of the same strength could be made from commercial chloride of lime. The engineers were pouring it into sewers and cesspools to disinfect them and so prevent yellow fever. They did not at that time understand that the efficiency of cesspools depended on bacterial action.

Colonel DeWitt left Cuba on sick leave about the middle of April, and was succeeded by Col. Valery Havard who came up from Santiago, a fine scholar and botanist as well as doctor, and an admirable character. He was born in France and came to America as a young man. He came with Maximilian to Mexico.

The Department of Havana City was abolished in the various changes, and Gorgas and I were ordered to exchange places. Neither he nor I desired this change, and my Chief, General Lee, was much opposed to it, so he persuaded General Wood to ask the Surgeon General to leave me as his Chief Surgeon, and Gorgas as sanitary officer of Havana. This was finally authorized on May 1, 1900.

62. During May we had an examining Board for Commission to the Medical Corps of which Colonel Havard was President, Gorgas and I the other members and Quinton the recorder. We passed four good men, Shockley, Lyster, Bispham, and Geddings, out of a dozen or more applicants.

On May 17 I sent my family north and it was fortunate that I did so as a severe outbreak of yellow fever began the next week in Marianao and took a heavy toll of the American population. I took it, as did my orderly, and the clerk in my office, but all of us were fortunate enough to recover. We lost some fine men, however, among whom was Major Edmunds, a fine officer of the 8th Infantry, who was living at the time in my former house on Gen. Lee St. which I had turned over to him on the departure of my family. I then took a room in the fine old building opposite the plaza occupied as Department Headquarters. It was in examining suspects in this outbreak that I first met Dr. Lazear who had been selected on the advice of Dr. William H. Welch to come to Cuba as a member of the Yellow Fever Board which General Sternberg had planned to send to Cuba. Lazear's special qualification was his familiarity with mosquitoes as he had studied the mosquito transmission of malaria in Italy. He had come down to Cuba in advance of Reed and Carroll to familiarize himself with the mosquitoes of Cuba and was on duty at Columbia Barracks. Agramonte was at this time also in Cuba, being on duty at the Army Laboratory in Havana. I made it a rule to see all the suspicious cases in Marianao and the vicinity of Columbia Barracks until the Adjutant General, Major Michie, and some other members of the headquarters staff persuaded General Lee to give me an order not to visit cases of yellow fever while I was a member of the headquarters mess and occupied a room in the headquarters building. I obeyed this order strictly until Major Edmunds

63. and his wife took the disease and his condition became very alarming. I was too much worried about him to sleep and so arose at daybreak on the 16th of June and went over to his house, which was a few blocks distant. There I complied with the letter (but not the spirit) of my order by sitting on the porch and talking through the window (which was closed only with an iron grill) with Major Edmunds' nurse and with him as his bed was near the window. I was repeatedly bitten by the mosquitoes during this visit about which I said nothing, but to which my infection was probably due, as I was taken with the usual symptoms at daybreak of June 21, and so sent promptly to the yellow fever hospital. Reed and Carroll arrived in Cuba on June 25 and came out to Marianao where we had made arrangements for them to stay. Hearing of my illness Reed came to see me that day, and so it happened that I was the first case of this disease which he had ever seen and with which his memory will be always associated. My attack was only of moderate severity, and I was allowed to leave the hospital on July 1st and sailed a few days later for a leave with my family in New Jersey during the period of prostration and mental depression which always follows this disease.

In July, while I was absent from Cuba, a severe outbreak of yellow fever occurred among the troops stationed in the town of Piñar del Rio in the western part of the Island. Agramonte was sent up there, and verifying the diagnosis of the outbreak was followed by Reed who at once induced the commander to carry out the measure of prevention which was traditional in the army, of moving the troops out of the town and placing them under canvas. Various observations made by Reed at this time convinced him that this disease was not carried by fomites, or by personal contacts. I returned to Cuba on August 13th. Meanwhile the Board having successfully demonstrated that the bacillus of Sanarelli had no connection with the transmission of yellow fever decided early in August to

64. take up the study of Dr. Carlos A. Finlay's theory of the transmission of yellow fever by mosquitoes. The first efforts to transmit the disease by means of mosquitoes were made secretly on August 11th upon Dr. A.S. Pinto, and other volunteers whose names were not reported by the Board. Before this date, however, Reed had been called back to the United States for a flying visit to secure the papers of the Typhoid Board, which were in the hands of Dr. Shakespeare of Philadelphia when the latter died. Reed returned to Cuba on October 4, 1900. Many important things had happened during his absence. Lazear had succeeded in infecting a group of mosquitoes whose bites caused Carrol to be taken sick August 31st. The cavalryman "X.Y." was bitten by some of the same mosquitoes on that date and came down September 5. Lazear was infected while feeding mosquitoes on yellow fever patients at Las Animas Hospital and taken ill on September 18; he died September 25th.

Among the deaths from yellow fever that occurred this autumn was Major George S. Cartwright, Chief Quartermaster, with whom I had served at Fort Sill 15 years before; Major Petersen, Chief Commissary (his wife shot herself the day of his death and was buried with him); Captain Page, who was taken ill at the Petersen's funeral; and Captain Cook of the engineers, who lived in the same building with Major and Mrs. Gorgas. General Wood escaped yellow fever, but had a severe case of typhoid during the summer.

I have described (in my address at the dedication of the little house at Belroi where Reed was born) the interesting interview between General Wood and Reed in the Palace in Havana on Oct. 12, the day before he left for the United States to read his paper before the American Public Health Association at Indianapolis October 22-26, 1900 – "The Etiology of Yellow Fever – A Preliminary Note." It was published in the *Military Surgeon*, March, 1928.

65. Reed returned to Cuba Oct. 28, 1900 on the transport Crook; my family came down on this trip also.

On Nov. 1st 1900 a cable came saying that General Fitzhugh Lee who was on leave in the United States would not return to Cuba, but would be given a station in the United States and Cuba would be made one Department. We of his staff regretted much the breaking up of our staff and our separation from this fine old man. He went to Cuba in June 1896 when a Consul General was needed who would stand up for the rights of Americans without being bullied by Captain-General Weyler or frightened by yellow jack. General Lee was an admirable selection as he was entirely fearless of man or disease or death in any form, and at the same time amiable in disposition and beloved by all who came to know him. The declaration of war had to be held back to get him out of Havana in April 1898.

November 13th we left the house in Marianao and moved into part of a barrack at Camp Columbia with the Dunns and Slocums. The Department of Western Cuba was discontinued this date and I became Post Surgeon at the camp.

November 20 Colonel Havard went to the United States on leave and I became Acting Division Chief Surgeon at Havana.

In November 1900 Camp Lazear, Reed's experimental camp, was established near Marianao with money supplied by General Wood and the experiments began on November 20. December 19 I went with Reed to see General Wood and report success of his experiments, then we lunched with Gorgas. I drew up General Order No.6, Department of Cuba, dated Dec. 21, ordering anti-mosquito work as directed by the Reed Board at all Army posts in Cuba. I also wrote to the Surgeon General recommending that Carroll be commissioned a Major and Surgeon of Volunteers for his work on the Board.

On December 22 the doctors of Havana gave a dinner to Dr. Carlos Finlay

66. to celebrate the demonstration of the mosquito theory gotten up by Guiteras. There were about 60 there, including General Wood, the Board, Gorgas, and me. I sat on Dr. Finley's right. On January 1st I went to see Reed and to see Moran, an experimental case, who was much better. Colonel Havard returned to Cuba Jan. 8th 1901.

On January 23 an order came for me to report in Washington on February 4th for examination for promotion to Major. General Wood's name was in the same order as Captain Leonard Wood, and in reporting my departure to him I asked him if he had any message to send the Board of Examiners. He replied rather grimly, "Tell them I won't be there." I arrived in Washington February 2 and saw in the papers of the 5th General Wood's promotion to Brigadier General of the line. There was a memorial service for Queen Victoria that day, so I did not see the Surgeon General until the next day.

The examinations were finished on the 8th and I sailed from New York on February 14th having been delayed a day by ice in the harbor. I arrived in Havana Feb. 20.

Reed read his report of the work and findings of the Yellow Fever Board before the Pan American Congress in Havana on February 4, 1901. This paper the most notable of the publications of the Board is entitled "The Etiology of Yellow Fever - An Additional Note." The date of the Pan-American Medical Congress had originally been fixed as Dec. 5, 1900, but was postponed on account of the prevalence of yellow fever in Havana to Feb. 4, 1901. The paper besides reporting the experimental cases at Camp Lazear gave eleven conclusions which have all remained unshaken by subsequent investigations. The 10th conclusion is:

"The spread of yellow fever can be most effectually controlled by measures directed to the destruction of mosquitoes and the protection of the sick against the bites of these insects."

The "measures directed to the destruction of mosquitoes" were well known to all of us at that time having been worked out and described by Dr. L.O. Howard of the Bureau of Entomology, Department of Agriculture, some years before.

67. Major Gorgas, in his report of Aug. 30, 1901, said that when Reed read this paper he did not believe that the mosquito was the only way, or even the usual way, but everything else having failed he was willing to try the recommendations of the Board, which Gen. Wood ordered him to put in operation on Feb. 20, 1901. He was not willing to give up disinfection of fomites, however, in spite of the Board's triumphant demonstration of their harmlessness and the circular of the Chief Surgeon, Col. Havard (No.5, Headquarters, Dept. of Cuba, April 25, 1901), forbidding it, until the middle of August, 1901.

My connection with the work of extinguishing yellow fever in Cuba was chiefly administrative, and had in it nothing more heroic than was the work of the other doctors, nurses, and Hospital Corps men who exposed themselves in contacts with the disease in the performance of their duty. So I was much surprised when the report of the Sec. of War, Elihu Root, for 1902 was published to find my name associated in his commendations with those of the Reed Board. The Headquarters of the Department of Havana (Province) and Piñar del Rio, commanded by Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, were at Marianao, eight miles southwest of Havana City, and it was there that Reed located himself and his Board, so I was able to see him daily and be of much assistance to him in official matters, as I was then Chief Surgeon of the Department. It was in my hands that General Woods placed for disbursement the \$10,000 which he had promised Reed at the interview in Havana. Being an early convert to the mosquito theory of yellow fever transmission, I prepared a circular which was issued by our Headquarters Oct. 15, 1900, starting mosquito prevention work in the department of Western Cuba. Later being temporarily Chief Surgeon of Cuba in the absence of Col. Havard, I had issued G.O. No.6, Dept. of Cuba, dated Dec. 21st, 1900, which directed mosquito warfare in all garrisons in the island. This did not apply to the City of Havana where mosquito warfare was not begun until two months later.

68. In April I learned that a new duty was in store for me - Superintendente de Beneficencia. I began April 25th the inspections of hospitals and asylums with Major Greble who had organized the Department of Charities, but was now under orders to return to the United States. We inspected 17 hospitals and asylums in the course of a month in addition to my other duties.

When the United States Army took over the government of the island of Cuba on the 1st of January, 1899 there was widespread destitution, and in fact starvation due to the reconcentration of the rural population in the cities by the Spanish military authorities. These unfortunate people were gathered in without any arrangements being made for their food or shelter, and they perished by thousands from starvation and want of the simplest necessities of life. At the same time the hospitals, asylums, and other eleemosynary institutions had their incomes both from public and private sources cut off, and needed immediate assistance from the military government in order to be able to function at all. Major E. St. John Greble, U.S. Art., had been put in charge of the Department of Beneficencia and had shown great energy and ability in placing these institutions again on an operating basis, and relieving their most immediate necessities. He had, however, recognized the fact that the problem was to a large extent a medical one, and before his return to the United States in June 1901 had recommended to General Wood that a medical officer of the army should be selected to replace him. In his report for the year 1900 he listed 128 institutions as receiving financial assistance from the Insular Government. Among these were 40 hospitals and a large number of charitable institutions with private endowments whose incomes had disappeared either wholly or in part as the result of the war. There were also a number of recently established orphan asylums caring for the orphan children left by the *reconcentrados*. Sixteen of these had been established in the Province of Havana

69. alone by Miss Clara Barton who, while on a short visit to Cuba, had gone through that province establishing an orphan asylum in almost every municipality but making no arrangements for their support after her departure. Besides the confusion caused by the war, the Americans had found the Department of Charities administered under old Spanish laws which, while highly benevolent in purpose, had been adapted to social conditions which had long passed away. General Wood therefore invited Mr. Homer Folks, then the Secretary of the Charities Organization Society of New York, to come to Cuba and revise the organic law of the Department of Beneficencia. The new charity law prepared by him was published as Civil Orders #271 dated July 7, 1900, and gave to Cuba an organization which was the latest expression of the principles of modern scientific charities. The administration of many of these institutions seemed to me quite medieval, and, from a medical point of view, very defective. In the hospitals administered by religious orders of nursing sisters, it was customary for the nuns to leave the wards after supper, and not to visit them at all during the night. A male attendant called a *practicante* was left in charge of the wards, and if any emergency occurred he met it as best he could until the sisters and the doctor appeared the next morning

At the quaint old town of Puerto Principe I inspected an asylum for lepers which had been built many years before by funds collected by a begging monk, Padre Valencio, who was regarded as a local saint. His remains were in the chapel of the institution, and I was shown a tiny closet where, during his lifetime, he slept on a coffin-shaped box with a brick for his pillow.

I received the order relieving me from duty at Columbia Barracks on May 23, 1901. I reported to General Wood for duty and took charge of the Department next day. General Wood was very cordial and told me to go ahead and do as I thought best with a free hand only going to him for the solution of

70. serious difficulties. When I stated that I understood the budget of the Department amounted to more than two million dollars a year and I had had no financial experience, he said to me with a grin that my financial experience had been exactly the same as his, and I asked what experience he referred to. He said "to make \$133.33 last through the month." This was our pay as First Lieuts. when we entered the Army.

General Wood was a great believer in inspections, and I found it hard with the immense amount of office work and correspondence, conducted almost exclusively in Spanish, to get around and visit my institutions often enough to keep better informed about them than he was. It was a very strenuous and exacting job, but full of human interest and one which brought me in contact with many good and interesting people, both Cubans and Americans.

The hospitals steadily improved, and when I left Cuba most of them were running in a fairly satisfactory condition. The problem of the orphans was solved by discontinuing gradually all the orphan asylums which did not have adequate private endowments for their support. We advertised that children who were not claimed by their relatives by a certain date would be located in families where they would be cared for under the supervision of the Department. When the day arrived a majority of the orphans had already been claimed, and after an investigation of the claimants they were returned to the care of their relatives or family friends.

The institution which gave me the greatest anxiety was the Insane Asylum in Mazorra near Havana, which was the only one in the island. This had fallen into great destitution during the war. When I had occasion to inspect it in January 1909, I found that more than 50% of the inmates had died during the preceding year from slow starvation and lack of the simplest necessities of life. The patients who were in any way violent or irresponsible were kept locked in

71. small cells which received light and air only through the iron bars of the doors where their words and actions were in plain sight and hearing of the milder cases who spent their days in the patios upon which these cells faced. Very few of the agitated cases had any bedding, and those of a destructive type were in many cases entirely without clothing. The number of cases at this time was 350. Immediate steps were taken to classify the patients and to secure them proper living conditions. At the same time the insane from all parts of the island were ordered to be taken from the hospitals and prisons where their condition was, if anything, worse, and brought to Mazorra. This constant influx of new cases made it most difficult to keep the provisions for their care and comfort ahead of the demands of the rapidly increasing number. However, with an expenditure of over \$40,000 the institution was improved to such an extent that when the American Association of Charities and Corrections held its meeting in Havana in March 1902 we did not feel ashamed when they inspected Mazorra, although the number of patients at that time was 875. A brief but accurate resume of the operations of the Department of Beneficencia may be found in a paper published by me in the Military Surgeon, Vol. 12, pp. 140-149, entitled "Hospitals and Charities in Cuba." I was greatly assisted in this work by a fine Boston woman, Miss Grace W. Minns, who had come to Cuba as the representative of the Cuban Orphan Association of Boston, and who had the assistance and backing of Mr. Henry Lee Higginson of that city. She was of special assistance in the inspections of the orphan asylums, and was of especial value as an inspector because she had the courage to spend the night at the institution which she was inspecting so as to inform herself as to what went on during the evening and morning hours when institutions are rarely seen by Inspectors.

During the year that I was Superintendente de Beneficencia I lived in a cottage at Columbia Barracks which General Wood preferred to build for my

72. occupancy there rather than rent me a house in Havana where rents and other living expenses were at that time quite high, although they could not be compared with the prices of today. My office was in Havana in a fine old building called the Maestranza de Artilleria which looked out on the mouth the harbor and the ocean. It was my good fortune when I returned to Cuba in October 1906 at the beginning of the second military intervention to have the same office as the Health Officer of Cuba. The office in each case was a large one having nearly 100 clerks. The correspondence was voluminous, in long hand, and in Spanish except a small part of it which came from the Military Governor or the American heads of departments which was in English, and returned with endorsements written crosswise on the folds of the original document. This clumsy method of military correspondence was some years later abolished in the War Department, the endorsements being written successively on succeeding sheets folded flat. I was at that time an Assistant in the Surgeon General's office, and when it was explained to me I found it entirely familiar because it was simply the *expediente* system which we had learned in Cuba, and which had been used by the Spaniards for several centuries. In fact I found that in the matter of official records the Spaniards had nothing to learn from us, except some economy of words and phrases in the beginning and ending of letters.

I will give in an appendix a quotation from the annual report of Hon. Elihu Root, Sec'y. of War, for the year 1902, with reference to the extinction of yellow fever in Cuba. (page 10 et seq.)

At noon on May 20, 1902 General Wood turned over the Government of Cuba to their first President T. Estrada Palma, and amid salutes from all the fortifications and naval vessels in the harbor, the American flags were lowered

73. from the public buildings, and the new Cuban flag with one star and three stripes was raised in its place. It was observed that the three largest Cuban flags, which were raised over Morro Castle, over the palace and over the Treasury Building, all fouled and were torn in the act of raising, an omen which seemed to predict a stormy future for the Republic.

CHAPTER

I had been given three months leave and on my arrival at Newport News took my family to Charlottesville Va. where I had rented a house for the summer. My leave however did not take effect until I had finished my official report to the military governor. For the purpose of these final reports General Wood kept his staff together, and established temporary headquarters in a rented building on the west side of Lafayette Square in Washington. As my report was near completion I was not required to spend much time at this office, and made frequent weekend visits to Charlottesville.

On June 15 a dinner was given by the Overseers of Harvard University to General Wood and his staff. President Chas. W. Eliot of Harvard presided, and besides Major Henry Lee Higginson and the other Overseers, there were many distinguished Bostonians present. It happened that I was seated near President Eliot in order to be by a relative, Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge, our Minister to France, and I enjoyed myself immensely without any thought that I might be called on to speak. Then in the course of time President Eliot called upon me to give an account of my work in Cuba, I was totally unprepared, and after a few commonplace sentences of appreciation sat down. The distinguished old man, to whom speaking was as easy as eating his dinner, looked at me over his glasses with much surprise, and with an expression as if I were a student who had failed to learn his lesson. He then called on General Wood to give an account of my services, a circumstance which was

74. altogether to my advantage because he gave a very complimentary account of my work in Beneficencies and thus left the impression that I was capable as well as modest.

Having finished my report I was sent on the 10th of July to Chickamauga to investigate an outbreak of typhoid fever which occurred in the 7th Cav. which had been placed in camp there upon their return from Cuba. In view of the sad memories of the camp at Chickamauga in 1898, this outbreak created much alarm, and there seemed to be an impression that the ground itself was infected with typhoid fever. I therefore got the Surgeon General to send Dr. Carroll with me, and he made cultures both from the water supplies in the park and from the earth taken from the old latrines of 1898. He found that there was no evidence of any earth infection, but the water of Chickamauga Creek was polluted by surface drainage from habitations on its banks.

Upon my return to Washington I had no sooner completed my report of this inspection than I was again sent to Chickamauga as a member of a board to locate a military post on the reservation there which was named Fort Oglethorpe. The weather was intensely hot, and as there were many sites to be examined we spent days in the saddle under a blazing sun investigating them. This arduous duty lasted until the middle of August when I took advantage of my leave and spent three weeks in Charlottesville with my family. I had accepted an attractive invitation from Major H.L. Higginson to spend several weeks as his guest at his camp in the Adirondacks and had planned to go there about the 10th of September. Meanwhile Colonel R.M. O'Reilly had been appointed Surgeon General, and I received a letter from him asking me to come and see him "to talk over the past, the present, and the future." He became

75. Surgeon General Sept. 7th and on the 9th I stopped over in Washington to see him. Much to my surprise he told me that he wanted me to come into his office. When I mentioned my leave and my prospective visit to Major Higginson, he told me that he needed me immediately and that I must send a telegram of regrets to the Major and give up my leave. The assistants then in the office were Colonel Charles Smart, Colonel A.C. Girard, and Colonel John Van R. Hoff, Major James C. Merrill having charge of the Library. General O'Reilly explained to me that he was going to have young men instead of senior colonels as his assistants in the office, and that the colonels and lieut. colonels of the Medical Department, instead of seeking these positions and duties which seemed to them easiest and best, had to meet the responsibilities of their rank by taking the higher positions of responsibility as Chief Surgeons and Commanding Officers of General Hospitals outside of Washington. He also mentioned that he had selected Major Walter B. McCaw and Captain Merritte W. Ireland to be my companions in the S.G.O. Major McCaw was prevented from reporting until a month later, and Captain Ireland (who was sick at Johns Hopkins Hospital) did not come for duty until 19th October. Meanwhile Colonel Hoff had gone off to Fort Riley to establish a field hospital with the new equipment which had been adopted by a board of which he was a member, this test being incidental to some maneuvers being held there. When I mentioned to Colonel Girard, who had the Division of Supplies in the office, that the Surgeon General had told me to come to him for information about this Division as I would succeed him in charge of it, he at once jumped out of his chair and pushed me into it. I protested that I did not want to take charge just then as I was performing the duties of Executive Officer and had many other things to do and to learn. This however made

76. no impression on him. He told me to take charge of the desk, grabbed a few papers out of a drawer, took his hat, and disappeared. I do not recall that I saw him again in the office, and certainly got no pointers from him as regards the administration of the Division of Supplies.

Colonel Alfred C. Girard was a Swiss by birth and very Teutonic in appearance and manners. He was industrious and energetic and one of the best informed men professionally in the [Medical] Corps. He stood second below General O'Reilly at the time of the latter's appointment, and had been brought to Washington by General Forwood during his brief tour as Surgeon General and doubtless had the expectation of remaining in Washington for several years. He had been in command of the General Hospital at San Francisco, not yet named the Letterman. His idea of hospital administration was shown by a remark which he made to me that he found the duties there very arduous as he did all of the surgery in addition to the work of administration of the hospital. I asked him if he thought that was a good thing for his assistants, to which he replied that perhaps it was not, but he thought it was good thing for the patients. He had the same defect as an administrator that General Sternberg had, being hard working and conscientious, he thought that the best way to do things was to do them himself, and did not realize that the first essential of a good administrator is to pick good assistants and delegate authority and responsibility to them with a free hand.

Colonel Girard's flight from the office left only Colonel Charles Smart there, and as he was quite deaf and had never concerned himself with administrative matters, I was practically the Surgeon General's only assistant, and the administrative methods of the War Department being quite new to me, I had a month of very hard work and trying responsibilities before Ireland and McCaw came for duty.

Colonel Smart was born and educated in Scotland, and was, as a writer,

77. perhaps the ablest and most industrious officer in the Medical Department. He had been for **26** years in the Surgeon General's office where he had the Sanitary and Statistical Division and wrote the annual report of the Surgeon General. After the establishment of the Army Medical School he taught sanitation and chemistry at the School, the latter being of special importance because the examination of the purity of water supplies was then entirely chemical. He had long been the work-horse of the office to whom all the laborious and difficult jobs were turned over, and he did them with unfailing willingness and efficiency. He occasionally relieved the monotony of a laborious and not very cheerful life by taking a day or two holiday with John Barleycorn, after which he returned to the office refreshed in spirit to take up the burden of his official duties. He had a very kindly, even disposition, and the clerks in the office were all devoted to him.

A great source of anxiety of General O'Reilly was that in bringing younger men into the office to replace these veterans, the literary style of the papers emanating from the office, and especially of the annual reports, should not suffer by contrast to those of the preceding administrations. It was with this in view that he had selected Major McCaw to take Colonel Smart's place as he had learned of General McCaw's admirable literary gifts and almost encyclopedic knowledge. He was greatly delighted to find after a little while that the office had lost nothing of its reputation in this respect. In fact, after we had persuaded General O'Reilly to make a few changes in the organization of the office, it gained in prestige so that General Ainsworth, who was certainly the best of judges, delighted his soul by telling him it was the best administered office in the War Department.

78. The most obvious administrative defect of the office when we came into it was that it had no Division of Personnel. Only the Hospital Corps section was in the hands of an assistant, and this was probably the least troublesome of all the branches of personnel. All the rest, Medical Officers, Contract Surgeons, Nurses, and civil employees, were brought by the Chief Clerk to the Surgeon General direct. Such an arrangement was not of great importance in the day of small things before the Spanish War, but when war came the Surgeon General was immediately overwhelmed by the amount of details which poured in on him, and which the organization of the office did not permit him to avoid. Thus he was overwhelmed with details which should never have come to him, whereas the great and important things, including correspondence with the Secretary, Adjutant General, Bureau Chiefs, and members of Congress, had to be neglected. The latter was perhaps the most serious of neglects because the medical officers of the Volunteer Army were almost all appointed on the recommendation of Senators or members of the House, and the Surgeon General under these conditions of confusion had to get along with whatever came to him instead of having a decisive voice in the selection and appointment of the medical officers of the Volunteers.

General Sternberg was a man of great ability as a scientist and of great industry, but I imagine came to the Surgeon General's office without any experience in office administration, or much knowledge of men. He therefore naturally accepted the office organization and procedure which he found there, and devoted himself to raising the professional standards in the Medical Corps, and the provision of greater opportunities for professional improvement. Besides the establishment of the Army Medical School, he greatly increased the supply of medical journals and new medical books issued to the posts, and was liberal in the supply of microscopes and encouraged medical research.

When the [world] war came, instead of reorganizing his office, he tried to atone for its defects by lengthening his hours of work and taking upon himself all the additional burdens, instead of demanding additional assistance to handle them. He left behind him many instances of his slavery to details, such as the medical equipment and supplies for a hospital ship, all carefully written out in his own hand.

78½. General O'Reilly very wisely was reluctant to make any changes in the old established order of things until he and his assistants had become thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and perfectly oriented in their relations to their clerks and to the other Bureaus of the War Department. He also, with a wise philosophy, was quite content to let his assistants do the work and take the responsibilities which belong to the administration of their Divisions, while he contributed only a benevolent supervision and consideration of general policies. He thus had plenty of time to devote to callers from within the War Department and from outside. With his personal charm (and with the wide acquaintance in Washington which he had made while Attending Surgeon and as the personal physician for President Cleveland), these were numerous, and many of them were among the older and more influential members of Congress. I used to tell him that I was sure the office was running well when I found him not at his desk, but with his feet on the windowsill smoking one of his excellent Havana cigars with which he was always supplied. The only fly in his ointment was the constant visitations of the Chief Clerk through one door and the Superintendent of Nurses through the other, consulting him about petty details of personnel administration. Captain Ireland and I soon decided that this should be prevented by the establishment of a Personnel Division and during General O'Reilly's absence in Europe during the spring of 1903, Ireland made a study of the personnel question. He made a card index of the Medical Officers showing their station for a number of years back, and it at once appeared that a chosen few had been getting all the good stations, and that there had been many unnecessary moves. This was due, not to any favoritism on the part of the Surgeon General, but to the fact that the Chief Clerk dealt the cards, and the Surgeon General had to take what was given to him.

The Personnel Division was then established under Ireland (he became Major 3 Aug. 1903), not without strenuous opposition from the Chief Clerk, Mr. Jones, who was a man of force, ability, and much experience, who maintained excellent discipline in the office and had been accustomed to rule it with a strong hand. Jones, however, was a thorough bureaucrat, and although absolutely loyal to the Surgeon General and the interests of the Medical Department, his vision did not extend north of Penna. Ave. or west of 17th St., and he had little understanding

79. or sympathy for the troubles of the medical officers outside of Washington. The great majority of these were unknown quantities to the Chief and the Chief Clerk, but the man and the job had now been brought together, and Ireland (with his keen insight, his extraordinary memory for people and events, his quick decisions, and his natural gift of leadership) soon made a great change. He made it a point to see every medical officer who came to Washington, and to find out his needs and those of the medical service at his post, as well as to make an estimate of his capabilities and character.

Meanwhile the Chief was no longer harassed with an endless series of small worries, and the neighboring departments were not slow to find out, a new order had come into being in the Surgeon General's Office. Our relations with the other Bureaus also underwent a steady improvement. These relations had been largely regulated by the attitude of the Chief Clerks towards each one, and we were amused to find how little feeling of mutual cooperation there was between them, and how jealously each looked out for the rights and prerogatives of his own office. I used to tell Ireland that it reminded me of a lot of old hens sitting on their eggs and ready to peck anyone who came around for fear he might steal one. A small incident helped much our relations with the Quartermaster General's office where above all the others, a sympathetic and helpful attitude was necessary to us. The medical supply officer at San Francisco had in stock 1,500 iron bedsteads which had been purchased for an emergency, and were all of Quartermaster and not medical specifications. He asked authority to sell them. Such sales, however, in San Francisco brought very little money and was turned into the Treasury so as to be a loss to the army appropriation. The Surgeon General therefore agreed to my proposition to present them to the Quartermaster Department, and I went into the Chief Quartermaster's office with this proposition. It was so unusual that I could see they believed there was a catch in it somewhere, but they said they would telegraph to the Chief Quartermaster in San Francisco to examine the beds and see if they were standard and fit for issue. They were found to be all right, and the transfer was duly made. It was evidently the talk of the office, and from that time on a more friendly attitude was noticeable.

79½. THE GENERAL STAFF

Doubtless the most important provision of the Army Reorganization Bill of 1901 which, except for its ill-treatment of the Medical Department, was an excellent measure, was the creation of the General Staff. General Miles was at that time the Commanding General of the Army, and as he was an officer with a fine military record and much influence in Congress, it was provided that the creation of the General Staff should not go into effect until his retirement on August 8, 1903. The Surgeon General's office was strongly in favor of its establishment, and the first Chief of Staff, General S.B.M. Young, was always a good friend of the Medical Dept. The first members of the General Staff had been very carefully chosen, but it seemed extraordinary to us that no member of the Medical Department was included. The new members, especially those in the lower grades, took their honors and responsibilities very seriously. Many of them seemed to think that their primary objective - to use the current military phrase - was to break up the established order of things and introduce changes. Thus for several years we were bombarded with memoranda proposing this, that, and the other, and much time was taken up in the discussion of propositions which had little to recommend them except their novelty. I recall saying to my friend Capt. Frank R. McCoy on one occasion when he came up as the bearer of one of these academic propositions that we got very tired of "demonstrating axioms and defending first principles."

POLICIES

As regards established policies for the office, we were unable to find any, and as the medical failures and discredits of the Spanish War were fresh in our minds, it seemed to us that we should adopt such policies as would prevent them for the future. It happened that Congress had, immediately after the war, established a commission to investigate its conduct, called the Dodge Commission, and this body had devoted much time and attention to a sympathetic study of the difficulties

80. of the Medical Department. Their conclusions seemed to me to fix a settled policy which both the War Department and Congress ought to feel obligated to respect and promote. To my surprise I was unable to find a copy of the printed report of the Dodge Commission in the Surgeon General's office, but having secured one from the Capitol, I had it handsomely bound and placed it in a conspicuous position in the bookcase which occupied the inner side of the Chief's office. This report was the object of our careful study, and six years later, when the day for his retirement was drawing near, he brought me up from Cuba for a couple of weeks to write for his last annual report a summary of the things accomplished by his administration, in which it was shown that practically every recommendation of the Dodge Commission relating to the Medical Department had been more or less successfully carried out. (Report S.G., 1908).

THE CRIME OF 1901

The first of the group of opinions with regard to the Medical Department noted in the report of the Dodge Commission was:

1. A larger force of commissioned medical officers. Of course trained officers are always needed by every department when war comes, but the shortage of the medical department when we entered the Spanish War was excessive. Our Army had been for many years only 25,000 strong, and it would have been thought that for so little an army each vacancy would have been filled by a commissioned trained medical officer who could take all the expanded responsibilities of war. Far from this being so, a large part of the work of the Medical Department under the lower grades was performed by Contract Surgeons, mostly old men who did their routine duties very well, but who were quite useless for purposes of war expansion. The only personnel legislation of any importance concerning the Medical Corps which had been enacted in the decade preceding the war was a reduction of 20 (15 in 1892; they were replaced in 1898 [handwritten addition by BG Kean]) in the commissioned strength of the Corps.

81. As the shortage of medical officers had been one of the most obvious causes of trouble in the war, we fully expected that in the bill to reorganize the Army, which was prepared after the war under Secretary of War Root's direction, this need would be met. So far from this being done, however, the Medical Corps failed to receive its proportionate increase in the enlargement of the Army and the entirely inadequate increase which was given was not distributed in proper proportion through the grades, but was confined largely to the lowest grade. Thus our deficiency was increased by this legislation, and at the same time the prospect of promotion so decreased that the Medical Corps did not offer an attractive career to young doctors. Therefore, we found that we were unable to fill the vacancies that had been created. This ill-treatment of the Corps was known among us as the Crime of 1901. A cavalry officer who was on duty in the Secretary's office was charged with the responsibility for it.

The embarrassment of the medical service was increased about this time by a decision of the Judge Advocate General that Contract Surgeons, not being officers, had not the authority to give orders to the enlisted men in the hospitals so that their power to maintain discipline and good order was in a great measure destroyed. It seemed clear therefore that the first and most important policy of the Surgeon General should be to increase the Medical Corps so that Contract Surgeons could be replaced by commissioned officers, and to secure such numbers in the higher grades as to restore the prospects for promotion which we had before the Spanish War and place our Corps on an equality with the Medical Corps of the Navy with which we had to compete for desirable men to fill our vacancies. To support this demand I evolved the axiomatic statement that a staff department which is not adequately manned to perform the routine duties of peace cannot be successfully expanded to meet the emergencies of war. It was believed that by

82. the constant repetition of this axiom its acceptance in the War Department would become general, and so it turned out. Also, to meet the emergency of war, it was most necessary that the Surgeon General (and not members of Congress or Governors of States) should be the person to select the medical officers of volunteers outside of the National Guard. In order to secure this, and at the same time to create a strong bond of union between the medical profession throughout the country and the Surgeon General's Office, it was determined to create a Reserve Corps, the members of which should be selected and commissioned in time of peace, so that when war came we would have an eligible list already prepared from which the medical officers of volunteers would be chosen and given grades appropriate to their capacities and standing in their profession. As it was quite evident that this professional Reserve Corps would be viewed with much suspicion in the War Department, and with much disfavor in Congress, these were diminished as far as possible by providing that the Reserve Commissions should be only in the lowest grade, of first lieut. It was not our intention that they should serve in this grade unless they were quite young men, but they should be promptly promoted if called into service of war by being given volunteer commissions. General O'Reilly was quite pessimistic as to the chances of getting through any such legislation, especially as the reorganization of 1901 had behind it the great name and prestige of Secretary Root. My reply to this was that we should begin by converting Secretary Root and obtaining his help, without which I recognized that there was little hope of success. Mr. Root was a lawyer, and as my father was a lawyer I had been more or less around his office during my youth, and had some idea of the legal method of approaching a proposition. I prepared, therefore, with much care, and after consultation with my comrades (and especially with Major William C. Borden of whose shrewdness and good judgment the Surgeon General had a very high opinion) a formal document which we called the "Brief," which set forth the whole question of the personnel needs of the

83. Medical Department, both in peace and war, fully and clearly. This Brief the Surgeon General handed to Mr. Root as a sort of Christmas gift on December 26. On New Year's Day when General O'Reilly called on him, according to the custom of those days of paying New Year's calls, Mr. Root greeted him cordially and said, "General O'Reilly, I have read your argument. It is a very able presentation, and I am convinced by it, and you shall have my help in legislation to correct it." This naturally made us all feel very happy, and we went to work at once to draw up the bill which would correct our deficiencies and meet our needs. Before, however, we got the Brief safely in Mr. Root's hands, I had a surprise in the office which upset me as much as if a bomb had gone off under my chair. It should be explained that McCaw was, like many brilliant men, a pessimist, and I have no doubt in his heart he considered my fine schemes to be a youthful effervescence and that they would never come to anything. At any rate what was my surprise and horror when the Surgeon General's report, 1903, appeared in November to find under the heading of "Personnel" a statement that the Corps was very short of personnel, but if it could be given two more colonels, four lieut. colonels and 7 majors, the Surgeon General thought that it could get along very well. As I was asking in my Brief for double the number of colonels and lieut. colonels and an increase of more than 60% in the lower grades, I felt as if the earth had suddenly slipped from beneath my feet. Then I rushed into the Surgeon General's room to ask what this meant. He was embarrassed and apologetic, but with all I think a little amused at my righteous indignation. It was plainly a case of two pessimists getting together, and of the good Chief having fallen under the spell of McCaw's philosophy. This philosophy had no influence on Ireland and myself however, and it was a long time before McCaw heard the last of it.

84. While we were working on the bill I suggested to General O'Reilly that he go down and consult General Ainsworth about it. General Ainsworth was at that time the greatest power in the War Department. His extraordinary ability, as well as his knowledge of Congress and his influence with that body were recognized by every one. General O'Reilly did not seem to be inclined to do this and said that he had no more than a speaking acquaintance with him. He gave me permission to go however, and so I went down with a copy of the Brief and a draft of the proposed law in my hand to "beard the lion in his den." General Ainsworth seemed to be much gratified at being consulted. He said that the Medical Department was his first love and he never forgot that he had been a member of it. He added that this was the first time since he left the Medical Department that anyone from the Surgeon General's office had ever come to ask his assistance or advice about the affairs of the Medical Corps. He took the papers home to study and when I came back the next day he expressed himself as greatly pleased both with the law and the argument in its favor, and after making one or two suggestions returned them to me with the invitation to come to see him as often as I wanted help or advice in this matter. General O'Reilly was so much pleased at my reception that he went down to see General Ainsworth and they became excellent friends. Gen. Ainsworth was always thereafter ready to help us in this and all other matters, and his help was of the greatest value during General O'Reilly's and General Torney's administrations.

Although Mr. Root had promised General O'Reilly his support of a reorganization of the Medical Corps which would rectify the Crime of 1901, his resignation had been accepted by the President to take place on the last day of January, 1904, and that day approached without anything being done about it. Accordingly we urged our good Chief to go down and get something in writing from him, and at length he succeeded in getting to see him in the afternoon of the last day but one

85. that be held the office of Secretary of War. General O'Reilly stated his errand, and the Secretary rang for a stenographer, and without a moment's hesitation dictated the noble and eloquent endorsement to our bill, which is historical and which every medical officer should know. One of my few complaints against Colonel Ashburn's admirable History⁶ is that he did not include it textually, but it will be found on pp. 404-405 of the Military Surgeon for September, 1929.

With the first of February came in a new Secretary of War, Mr. Taft. We had seen to it that he should be thoroughly familiar with our plans for the reorganization of the Medical Corps before he arrived in Washington to take up his duties. He had been, therefore, handed a copy of the Brief before he left Manila by his Attending Surgeon, Col. Rhoads. When he arrived at Hawaii, he was again approached on this subject and given another copy of the Brief. At San Francisco he was also approached by the Chief Surgeon and presented a copy for his study during his trip across the Continent. He arrived, therefore, at the War Department presumably quite familiar with our needs and ambitions, and prepared, I imagine, to have them brought to his attention on all occasions, an expectation in which he was not mistaken. The "Bill" as it was always called in the office, had gone to Mr. Root with the approval of the General Staff, and we were most anxious to have it sent on its way before the new Chief of Staff, General Adna R. Chaffee, should come in. General Chaffee was a soldier of the old school, brave, energetic, and capable, but full of ancient prejudices, and willing to express them with a sauce of much profanity when moved to do so. He was generally referred to in the War Department as "the Old Sergeant," yet we all respected and admired him, and General O'Reilly who had served in the same Corps with him during the Spanish War, and afterwards in Cuba where he

⁶ Percy M. Ashburn, A history of the Medical Department of the United States Army (1929, Houghton Mifflin).

86. was Chief of Staff, had at the same time a great regard for him and a great disinclination to discuss official matters with him. He got hold of our bill and referred it back to the General Staff for reconsideration, expressing at the same time the opinion that the number of colonels and lieut. colonels should be reduced to 12 and 18 respectively, which was enough for an army of 250,000 men. In expressing this opinion he apparently had in mind only the needs as to medical officers of high rank for an army in the field, being quite oblivious of the fact that officers of these grades would be also needed in even greater number along the lines of communications, at the base and general hospitals, and for the needs of the War Department and the Zone of the Interior. He also did not consider the fact, although it was plainly pointed out in the Brief, that a proper proportion in each grade was absolutely necessary for promotion in order to make the Army an attractive career for candidates coming into it. The General Staff, who should have known these facts, at once (and with, it seemed to us, a rather joyful promptness) accepted his point of view, went back on their previous recommendation, and concurred in the point of view of the new Chief of Staff.

We asked General O'Reilly to go down and talk to him in the hope that he would change his point of view, but our good Chief refused flatly, and stated that he was not willing to have General Chaffee swear at him. I was then sent down to scout around his office and see if we could not get one of his assistants to argue the question with him. I selected Colonel Tasker Bliss, with whom I was personally acquainted, and who I knew was both very well informed and entirely unafraid. It was pointed out to him that the Chief of Staff had taken a ridiculous position which could be easily showed up by the Surgeon General, and it would be a bad start to have him in his career as Chief of Staff shown up as ignorant of such elementary fact in medical organization. Col. Bliss, however, felt much the same as did Gen.

87. O'Reilly about being our advocate, and replied, "Go ahead, show him up; I hope it will do him some good." The Surgeon General thereupon proceeded to show him up with courteous frankness, and was promptly sustained by the Secretary of War, who in his endorsement regretted that one of the first acts of his administration as Secretary should be to disagree with the distinguished Chief of Staff, but he added "the arguments of the Surgeon General substantially outweigh those of the Chief of Staff." He, however, as an apparent compromise, reduced the colonels to 16, and increased the lieut. cols. to 24, thus preserving the former proportions between these two grades. Meanwhile, General O'Reilly had already interviewed Mr. Hull, Chairman of the Military Committee, who had promised that he would support the Bill if the War Department supported it. Therefore, we now had high hopes and visions of prompt action by Congress. It is perhaps well that we could not foresee the delays, the accidents, and the betrayals which for four years held up a legislation which was so obviously needed and so happily launched. It will be convenient to trace the high points of its career here, although a violation of the chronological order.

When we had safely repelled General Chaffee's onslaught, the Bill was introduced into Congress with the approval of the War Department and with only the change from 20 colonels and 20 lieut. Colonels (which was a proportion in these grades borrowed from the Navy) to 16 colonels and 24 lieut. colonels, the number in the two grades taken together being the same as before, and being just double what we were allowed by the existing law. Then came our first rebuff. The Chairman of the House Military Committee, in spite of his promise to General O'Reilly, made a complete about-face and became its most formidable opponent. The reason for this change of attitude I never found out.

88. Our first hearings before the Military Committees were very encouraging. The Senate Military Committee gave us a fine report and that of the House Committee was not unfavorable. At the House Committee hearing, we had brought to plead our case Dr. C.A.L. Reed of Cincinnati, who was the Chairman of the A.M.A. Committee on Legislation, and Dr. Rodman of Philadelphia. Both of these were able and convincing speakers. Secretary Taft gave us strong support also, and of course our own Chief. The House Committee cut down the number in the upper grades considerably, but we trusted to get back most of these in conference.

What was our surprise, therefore, when Mr. Hull came out with an interview headed "The Doctors Want Too Much" in the Army and Navy Journal, in which he attacked our bill with evident animosity. This we answered with editorials in the Journal of the American Medical Association and the New York Medical and Surgical Journal in which we gave the Chairman of the House Military Committee what we considered entirely satisfactory replies. We did not, of course, expect these to convince him, but they were intended to convince the medical profession and to get it behind us. Mr. Hull retained his opposition, as we shall see, until it was necessary to build a fire under him which was much more effective than any arguments. This was done by the Committee on Medical Legislation of the American Medical Association who made an arrangement with the State Medical Society of Iowa by which a petition was presented to Mr. Hull signed by every doctor and dentist in his district with a few bone-setters and druggists thrown in for good measure. This was handed to Mr. Hull by a doctor who was his warm friend and political manager. At the same time, it was intimated that unless the medical bill passed, his chances of being renominated for Congress were very poor. We learned that he complained bitterly when he got back to Congress about the doctors having gone into politics in his district, but he got very little sympathy from the members of the Military Committee who knew how he had acted towards us and he gave us no trouble from that time on.

89. We decided to fire our big gun and General O'Reilly went to see President Roosevelt and asked him to send a special message to Congress about our needs. He agreed to do so and requested the General to send him a memorandum on which to base his message. We decided that in order to be sure that he would not leave out anything, it would be best for me to write the message. So after a perusal of a number of his previous messages to get the style, I did so with such success that, to our amazement, he adopted it in toto, changing only one word in the message. However, General Crozier who was in close touch with the President, and anxious for an increase to the ordnance, got wind of what was going on and got the President to add to our message a plea for the ordnance also. The message went to Congress on January 9, 1905.

90. January 9, 1905. The President also sent for Mr. Hull and asked him to support both the Medical and Ordnance Bills.

Mr. Cannon, the Speaker of the House, who at this time was on bad terms with the President, positively refused to allow our bill to come to a vote and it died with this Congress. The bill was promptly reintroduced in the fall of 1905 and we were very busy during the winter in working for it. It came to a vote in the Senate in February 1906 and was passed, but at the request of Senator Hale the action was reconsidered and it was held up for about six weeks. It finally passed the Senate March 20, 1906 and was reported out by the House with some cutting down in numbers. These we expected to get back in conference and the prospect appeared bright. Mr. Cannon again, however, stood in the way. The President called him to a conference at the White House in June, 1906, with Mr. Hull and Secretary Taft to talk over the Medical and Ordnance Bills. Mr. Cannon refused to let more than one of them pass and the President decided in favor of the Ordnance. The Secretary told us that he understood that Mr. Cannon would agree to let the Medical Bill come up the next year.

On August 16th, 1906, Ireland went for a three months service on the surgical side at the general hospital at San Francisco (which was not yet named the Letterman) in order to freshen up professionally. As Cuba was in a very disturbed condition, I promised to telegraph him in case of an intervention. Mr. Taft landed in Cuba and proclaimed an intervention on September 29th and on the same day sent a cable to the War Department in which he ordered me to report to him to be the Sanitary Officer in Cuba. I, therefore, that afternoon sent Ireland a telegram of two words "come a-running," and he replied that he would arrive on October 4th. I left for Cuba on October 1st, 1906, and he took over my duties as Executive Officer of the Office and in charge of the Supply Division. An important part of his duty was, of course, to conduct the campaign for the bill which he conducted from that time on with his characteristic vigor and thoroughness.

91. On February 1, 1907 I was in my office in Havana when I received a cipher cable from the Surgeon General asking if my sanitary work would suffer if I were ordered to Washington for consultation with him. I replied that I could come very well and that afternoon my order came by cable and I left the next day. I found him rather depressed about the prospects of the bill and some other matters. Ireland took me in and I spent eight delightful days in Washington and had many long talks with the Chief and with Ireland. During this time we arranged with Dr. Burton, Delaware's only representative in the House, to go around and take a poll of the House with reference to our bill which we proposed to use ultimately to bring pressure on Mr. Cannon. After my return to Havana, however, the letters became quite discouraging. Dr. Burton had been sick and the poll of the House was never made. It may be that Mr. Cannon got wind of it and suppressed it. Mr. Cannon's attitude continued hostile and the Secretary became discouraged and finally gave up the fight for this year, it being the short session. In the fall of 1907, the bill was promptly reintroduced in both Houses and on January 27, 1908 the Senate passed it without change for the third time, it having already passed it in April, 1904, and March, 1906. In February, our good friend on the House Military Committee, Mr. H. Olin Young of Michigan, told Ireland in strict confidence that Mr. Cannon had promised that the bill should come to a vote in the spring, probably before April. On March 16th I received a cable that the bill had passed the House by 140 to 15 votes in a somewhat mutilated condition and had gone to conference. The conference reported it out on April 9th for 14 colonels, 24 lieut. colonels, and 105 majors without change in the lower grades. We thus, in the five years fight, had lost only two colonels and 5 majors from our original proposition and had never agreed to any compromise. The President signed it on April 23rd, and there was great rejoicing in the Corps, many of whom had lost all hope. There were big dinners in celebration of the happy event in

92. Washington, in Havana, and in Manila. Our joy increased by the passage, about the same time, of a bill increasing the pay of the Army.

This has been a long story but I believe it is worth telling because it marks an epoch in the history of the Medical Corps. For one thing, it enormously increased our prestige in the Army and we acquired a reputation for political cleverness and influence that I do not think that we altogether deserved. When the first list of appointments in the Medical Reserve Corps came out July 5, 1908, it looked like a hand-picked list, as it was, of the most distinguished men in the medical profession of the country. The War Department did not realize at first its enormous value for mobilization in war, but were inclined to view it rather as a political asset. It may be recalled that General Harbord in his book Leaves from a War Diary alludes to "those astute politicians of the Medical Department."

DEATH OF MAJOR REED 1902

We will now retrace our steps and take up some other interesting happenings of the first year of General O'Reilly's administration. Major Walter Reed and I were living in adjacent apartments at 1603 19th Street, and I saw him daily. On November 12, 1902 he was taken sick with symptoms of appendicitis which were not, however, very acute and for which he did not go to bed. On the 14th the Reeds gave a dinner to Major Gorgas, and as Reed was feeling too badly to come to the table I was asked by Mrs. Reed to take his place and carve the turkey. On the 17th Borden decided to operate although his temperature and pulse were nearly normal when he went to the table. Both General O'Reilly and I were present at the operation. The appendix was found buried in a mass of adhesions up the back of the coecum, which was itself inflamed and rigid and with a small abscess behind it. Borden predicted that it would slough and so simply packed the wound. Acute peritonitis occurred, and when I saw him last on November 22nd, it was evident that

93. death was only a matter of a few hours. He died at 2:30 on the 23rd, aged 51 years and 10 days, being at that time the senior major in the Army. I had told him on a previous visit that the Secretary of War had, in his report which had just come out, recommended him to be promoted to the grade of colonel as an extra number, but he replied that he did not care for that now. He was given an imposing funeral which showed his great popularity. There was a memorial meeting in his memory on Dec. 31 at the hall of the District Medical Society at which General Wood, Dr. Welch, Prof. Charles Wardell Stiles, and a number of other prominent men spoke.

In May 1903 the Walter Reed Memorial Association was organized to raise money and take steps for the erection of a monument with a statue of Walter Reed in the District of Columbia. The organizers of the Association were:

Officers of the Association:

- + President, Daniel C. Gilman, LL.D., Pres. of Johns Hopkins Univ.
- + Vice President, Gen. Geo. M. Sternberg
- + Treas., Mr. Chas. J. Bell
- + Secretary, Gen. Calvin De Witt, U.S.A.

Executive Committee

The Officers of the Association, and

- + A.F.A. King, M.D.,
Major J.R. Kean, Surgeon, U.S. Army,
Major W.D. McCaw, Surgeon, U.S. Army.
- + Dead at time of writing this, 1933.

We raised \$25,000. This Association has not yet been able to carry out its original purpose because many of the subscribers to it indicated a desire that Mrs. Reed should have the interest of the fund during her life time on account of the inadequacy of her pension and the small provision which Major Reed had been able to make for his family. This has been done, and as we feel, served a much greater immediate need than a monument, for, as we all have

94. observed, the fame of Walter Reed has steadily grown and Congress will in due time carry out the recommendation which President Roosevelt made to them to erect a monument to his memory. Even if it does not, the magnificent hospital in Washington is a nobler monument than any which a sculptor could create in bronze or marble.

On March 2, 1904 the Colonelcy which the Secretary had recommended to be created for Reed was given to Gorgas instead of the Lieut. Colonelcy which the Secretary had recommended for him.

THE PANAMA COMMISSION.

Major Gorgas had made his plans to go to Panama before he left Cuba and we had planned that I should try to go also.

The first Panama Commission was appointed by President Roosevelt about March 1st, Admiral Walker being the Chairman. We had tried our best to have Gorgas appointed a member, and the President received a shower of telegrams from doctors all over the country, but at that time the prejudice was very strong against doctors holding any administrative position. It was especially strong in the Navy, and the Old Man of the Sea, as we soon named Admiral Walker, had all the prejudices of his cloth against doctors. Gorgas was appointed Chief Sanitary Officer with a small emolument in addition to his pay, against the inadequacy of which the Surgeon General protested vigorously. Gen. George W. Davis said to me that, when he handed to the "Old Man" Gorgas' first requisition for wire gauze for screening (60,000 yards), the Old Man gave him a long stare of contempt that he, a Commissioner, should have fallen for such a foolish waste of money, and then without a word put it in his hat, which was his favorite depository for papers. It was never heard of again, and six precious months were lost before an outbreak of yellow fever compelled Gorgas to send in another requisition. Gorgas had a

95. hard time, and several times but for the valiant backing of the Surgeon General would have lost his job.

Secretary Taft, in November, 1904, went to Panama to look over things and returned on Dec. 14. That was a cold, snowy day, but General O'Reilly and I went down to Orange, Va., about 90 miles from Washington, to meet Mr. Taft's train there and have a talk with him both about the Medical Bill and about Gorgas before the inimical influences in the War Department should get his ear. The train was 2½ hours late and we waited in the desolate little station for four hours, long after dinner time, before it came along, and the General made his way into Mr. Taft's private car. That interview saved Gorgas. About that time Doctor C.A.L. Reed was in Washington and went to see his old friend, Mr. Taft, who asked him to go to Panama on a Board, but really to observe how sanitary matters went. He returned late in March, and handed the Secretary a blistering attack on the Commission "and especially Mr. Grunsky" a refrain that he often repeated against that member of the Commission, who by the way, had asked to be put on the Sanitation Sub-Committee where he consistently opposed Gorgas. Dr. Reed, quite oblivious of official etiquette, sent a carbon copy of this report to the Journal A.M.A. and the President had hardly time to read it before it was in the hands of every doctor in the country. Two things promptly happened, Dr. Reed got a reprimand for which he cared not at all, and the Old Man of the Sea was fired, he and his whole Commission on April 1st. It was Dr. C.A.L. Reed who made the principal address at the Commencement of the Army Medical School on April 5th after a fine speech by Mr. Taft and a few sentences growled out by the Chief of Staff. Reed's address was on the "Relations between the Army Medical Corps and the Medical Profession," and Gen. Chaffee learned that day that we had powerful friends. It was Dr. Reed who built

96. the fire under Mr. Hull as I have already narrated. The Surgeon General got Gorgas' pay raised to \$10,000 and finally got him appointed a Commissioner.

In May, 1905, Chas. E. Magoon, the legal adviser of the War Department, was sent to Panama to be the Governor of the Zone and the Surgeon General sent me with him to arrange with Gorgas to supply drugs and medical supplies from the Army supply depots. This had been in the hands of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service under Gorgas' policy of dividing up, and they had failed miserably and were six months behind on filling requisitions. They charged 10% for this service. I found it absurdly simple. The Army Medical Service took it over. They paid for one extra clerk at the N.Y. depot and we did not charge anything for service. The requisitions came up to New York on the boat, and the same boat took back the supplies. It was an advantage to us to deal in larger quantities. Yellow fever was still prevalent there.

We must give General Chaffee credit for one good deed among many which we do not mention. Officers had always been accustomed, when they got chronic ailments, to take a sick leave and wander off to be treated at their own expense, and often very ill treated. If they wanted to go to the Hot Springs, or another Army hospital, they went at their own expense and left when they felt like it. General Chaffee issued the order which now seems such a necessary and obvious thing by which officers were sent to General Hospitals for observation and treatment.

In August 1904 Ireland and I went to the extensive manoeuvres on the field of the second battle of Bull Run. General Fred Grant commanded the Blue forces, and General Bell, the Browns, who wore fatigue uniforms. It was amusing to see how promptly the country people took the part of the Browns and aided them in every way by information etc. We in the office were keen to get all the instruction possible out of it for our Corps and sent a Base Hospital and two

97. field hospitals for each side. The manoeuvre was put in charge of the Headquarters at Governor Island and Col. Havard had charge of the medical arrangements. He called on the Quartermaster Dept. to furnish a mount for each Medical officer, but there were none available and the farmers refused to hire their horses. So the Quartermaster General's office put it up to the S.G.O. to say what should be done. We decided that the manoeuvre was for the instruction of men, not horses, so we arranged that the Quartermaster's Dept. should only furnish mounts for the very few whose duties required them, and that the money available for medical mounts, and not so used, should be used for the transportation of additional medical officers so as to furnish full staffs for our units. This worked finely until the Old Sergeant found that we were bringing medical officers from Texas and Dakota when he cut short the scheme of trading horses for medical officers with a few well chosen oaths. Glennan was the Chief Surgeon of the Browns and Fisher had the Div. Hospital. Straub had the Division Hosp. of the Blues, and I think that Philips was their Chief Surgeon. Colonel Havard was a sort of Medical Umpire. His executive, Barney, made a great fuss over the shortage of horses and seemed to set no store at all by the greatly increased medical personnel.

MARCH 4, 1905. We lost out on the Bill, but Borden got his appropriation for the hospital, \$300,000. We owe much to this able man, who is now a helpless invalid. It was he who planned the Walter Reed Hospital, and was chiefly instrumental in getting through Congress the appropriation for it.

APRIL 18, 1906 occurred the San Francisco earthquake. The Army took charge of the rescue and relief work and Col. Torney especially distinguished himself. The General Hospital at the Presidio took in all serious cases, including injuries and confinement cases. The Medical Department sent a special train loaded with

98. medical supplies in charge of Gilchrist and a detachment of Hospital Corps. It picked up many cars of food supplies en route and demonstrated the solution of another question raised by the Dodge Commission, viz: how the Medical Department could ship supplies without delays. The answer is to send a responsible N.C.O. along with them to prevent side tracking. Also to have Medical Department officers appointed Acting Quartermasters.

The Surgeon General's office energetically supported Colonel Torney in his relief work during this great disaster, and the fine reputation which he made for his humane activities at this time undoubtedly had a great influence in his appointment later to be Surgeon General in succession to General O'Reilly.

CHAPTER SERVICE AS SANITARY OFFICER IN CUBA.

I have referred already incidentally to the intervention in Cuba in connection with Ireland's return from San Francisco to take over my duties in the Surgeon General's office.

On September 29, 1906, the President, Mr. Roosevelt, declared an intervention and sent the Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, to Havana on a warship to take over the Cuban government and prevent the capture of Havana by the rebels. I had no idea that I would be involved in the intervention, but was one of the first to follow the Secretary of War to Cuba as he cabled for me to report to him immediately. I left for Cuba Oct. 1st, and was placed in charge of the Sanitary Department of Cuba with orders to report direct to the Secretary. I expected to be in Cuba only a few months, but the intervention extended to the 19th of January, 1909. During this time Ireland wrote to me at least once a week and usually oftener giving me full and detailed accounts of everything that went on in the office. Then he took charge of the Supply Division he did not find much work to be done with reference to the medical supplies for the troops which were at once sent down to support the intervention in Cuba. Under the efficient management of

99. Major Darnall, who had charge of the field supply depot which we had established in Washington, everything was ready for shipment at a moment's notice, and as soon the orders were issued for the troops Darnall in one day sent off all their medical supplies to Newport News. They were the first supplies to arrive for the Army of the Cuban Intervention and were, therefore, packed at the back end of the empty storehouse which the Quartermaster Department had rented there. As the other supplies came in they were piled in front of them with the result that when shipments began the Quartermaster Department followed the biblical rule that the last shall be first, and the medical supplies were, consequently, the last to arrive in Cuba. From this it will be seen that biblical maxims do not always work well in war, but this rule is not without its exceptions. In the World War the Medical Department had made a large contract with Ford for ambulances for the use of the U.S. Ambulance Service with the French Army. The contract was made long before we had any appropriations, and Ford began to deliver these ambulances and staff cars crated, in carload lots, on the wharf leased by the Government in New York long before the bulky shipments of the Quartermaster and Ordnance Departments were ready. The consequence was that they had to be loaded on the transports to get them out of the way, and so when I arrived at St. Nazaire on Aug. 14, 1917 to organize this Ambulance Service, I found my transportation already there, a great bank of cars extending for a quarter of a mile along the north bank of the Loire. It was several months later before the Quartermaster Department began to ship its automobile transportation, and for a long time my service was the only part of the American forces which had transportation. Thus I say getting there first is not always disadvantageous.

When I reported to Mr. Taft, who had proclaimed himself Governor and taken over the administration of the Republic, he told me to take charge of the Sanitary Department, and to administer it. I found that his principal concern was with regard to the yellow fever which, after its extinction by Gorgas in 1901, had re-

100. appeared in 1905 and had spread all over the island. I soon found out also there was a great difference between the conditions existing in Cuba at this time and those which obtained in 1901. At that time there were very few non-immunes in Cuba outside of Havana, and the children were practically all immune, therefore when Gorgas, whose activities did not extend beyond the city of Havana, stamped out yellow fever in that city, it disappeared promptly from the rest of the island, its disappearance being hastened by the activities of the military medical officers at the other seaports. Soon after the establishment of the Cuban Republic, May 20, 1902, a large immigration of Spanish laborers set in, chiefly Gallegos from the Basque provinces, and all non-immune. These, 190,000 in number, were scattered all over the island, and to them must be added the 386,000 Cuban children born since the disappearance of yellow fever, and therefore non-immune. So the warfare against yellow fever had to be waged, not only at every port, but at cities, villages, and Centrals throughout the island.⁷ In addition we had, in 1902, provided for the first Cuban Republic a highly inefficient sanitary organization consisting of a central Board of Health and local Boards in the municipalities. These Boards lacked both funds and authority and their functions were chiefly advisory, the administration being carried out under the municipal authorities, which were highly political in character, and usually lacking in funds. Even this defective machinery had been thrown into confusion by the insurrection so that all administrative agencies here lacking. Armed with a letter from Sec'y Taft, I went over to meet the National Board of Health, which was presided over by my genial old friend, Dr. Carlos Finlay, the original proponent of the mosquito theory.

After some discussion of the conditions, Dr. Finlay inquired what

⁷ Centrals were agricultural communities around sugar mills.

101. should be my title as Chief of the Sanitary Service. I said I did not know and asked if he had any suggestions. The old gentleman looked at Mr. Taft's letter and said, "the Secretary directs us to follow your advice in all things; how would it do to call you the Advisor of the Sanitary Department?" I said it would be a modest title, and I thought would suit me very well, but I would ask the Secretary. When I did so, he gave one of his celebrated chuckles and approved. When afterwards other Army officers who had served under General Wood were brought down to take charge of the various departments of the Government, the same title was given to them, and so we were all called Advisors. We occupied, in fact, under this modest title the positions of Cabinet Officers to the Governor, who took the place, not only of the President of the Republic, but of the Congress as well, which made a highly centralized and practically absolute government, subject of course to the supervision of the Government at Washington. As the Secretary could not remain long away from his duties at Washington, the selection of a Governor to replace him was the first urgent business. But about this there seemed to be some delay. It appeared that the President left the matter to Mr. Taft, and he, after much discussion, fixed upon the Governor of Puerto Rico, and a cruiser was dispatched to San Juan to get him. However, before it arrived there was a change of mind, and the cruiser was recalled by wireless. Governor Chas. E. Magoon, at that time Governor of Panama, was finally selected, and arrived on October 13. Mr. Taft and his advisor, Mr. Robert Bacon, sailed for home on the battleship Louisiana.

On October 15 I had a talk about my new duties with Governor Magoon, whom I knew quite well as he had been legal advisor of the War Department, and when he was appointed Governor of the Canal Zone I had accompanied him to Panama to arrange with Gorgas for supplying the Zone with medicines. Governor Magoon's experience with the Sanitary Department in Panama seemed not to have been a pleasant one as he started in with a long harangue about the extravagances of

102. Sanitary Officers in general and Gorgas in particular. I left him with the impression that my way was not going to be made easy for me.

Three days later we were visited by a great hurricane which blew down most of the trees in Havana, and did much damage in other ways there and at Camp Columbia. Some troops, I think engineer troops, were in camp on the parade grounds at Columbia Barracks, and the tents were at once blown flat, and many of them blown away. Some of them, with the property underneath, were saved by the men lying on them all night and holding on to them. Two transports loaded with animals were caught off the coast; one lost 145 mules, and the other 120 horses.

One of my first inspections was of the State Hospital for the Insane at Mazorra, ten miles out from Havana, where I went on Sunday morning, Oct. 21, with the Governor and Major Greble. It was, and is, the only hospital for the insane in Cuba, and we found it terribly overcrowded, 1,660 patients crowded in buildings which could only accommodate properly 900. There was also a shameful state of neglect and poor administration.

Although the yellow fever season was about at an end, a new case was reported on some part of the island almost every day. This was of course the greatest and most urgent problem of the Sanitary Department.

As Mr. Taft had given us to understand that our stay in Cuba might be a long one and had authorized us to bring down our families, mine arrived on Nov. 20, and I began housekeeping in a rented house on 15th St. in Vedado. As my children were small - a girl of 11 and a boy of 6 - I feared that they might get lost in the city and not know how to tell where they lived. Their first lesson in Spanish was, therefore, a reply to the question "En donde vive usted" to which in a couple of days they learned to reply promptly, "Calle Quince entre A y B."

On Dec. 9th we were invited to a lunch at Cojimar, a village on a little

103. bay east of Havana, by our old friend of the first intervention Monsignor Emilio Fernandez, it being the Saint's Day of Spaniards from the Province of Asturias in northwestern Spain. Most of the many thousand laborers who had come into Cuba after the Spanish War were from this district, and the adjoining Galicia (Oviedo). They were fine, sturdy, industrious peasants, quite different in physique, appearance and character from the southern Spaniards. Many of them looked like typical Irishmen, and I was interested to find as another evidence of their Celtic inheritance that the bagpipe was their racial musical instrument. They called themselves "Gente Alegre," the jolly people. We spent a pleasant Christmas with many dinners and other entertainments.

The yellow fever, which I had begun to hope had disappeared for the winter, showed that it was still with us by a case at the end of the year.

I have already told of my delightful visit in February of about ten days in Washington for consultation with the Surgeon General during which time I was the guest of Major Ireland. I found all progress of the Bill blocked by the Speaker, Mr. Cannon.

The only thing that Congress did for the Medical Department before adjourning on March 3rd, 1907, was to promote Dr. James Carroll from lieutenant to major by a special bill. He died in Washington of myocarditis 16 Sept. of this same year.

104. At the time (about Feb. 28th) Colonel Goethals was appointed Chief Engineer in charge of the construction of the Panama Canal vice Stevens who had resigned.

I had been at work from time to time during the winter on a plan by which the national government would take over the administration and the expense of sanitary work in the municipalities. This was practically the case already in the city of Havana, and had been since the first intervention. This would substitute a vigorous and centralized administration for the futile and impotent sanitary service administration by the local Boards of Health (*Juntas Locales de Sanidad*). I prepared a decree carrying out this scheme, but had great difficulty in persuading the Governor to sign it. With it went another equally necessary decree placing the quarantine service under the Sanitary Department instead of making it a dependency of the Treasury, as our Marine Hospital Service had insisted should be done, over my vehement protest, when we organized the national Sanitary Service in the spring of 1902 under General Wood.

In April we selected a site for a national sanitarium for tuberculosis. We were fortunate enough to find a large finca on a high commanding site not far from Havana which would make an excellent administration building for the sanitarium. The patients were accommodated in a village of small detached wooden houses which were built later on the lands which were purchased with the finca.

105. On May 2nd we had the great pleasure of a visit from General O'Reilly which he had promised me to make when I saw him in February. He stayed with me a week and was given numerous dinners and other entertainments. While there he made the acquaintance of a distant kinsman, a native of Havana, who was a descendant of the Captain-General O'Reilly who two centuries before had been Captain-General of Cuba and of Louisiana. O'Reilly Street in Havana is still a souvenir of this old Irish Spaniard who, however, left some bitter memories in Louisiana where he was known as the "Bloody O'Reilly" on account of the severity with which he suppressed the disaffection of the French inhabitants.

One day in May I had lunch with Captain Stevens of the Ward liner Havana on board his ship, and he told me an interesting historical incident. At the time of the blowing up of the Maine in Havana Harbor, Feb. 15, 1898, he was captain of the Ward Line steamer City of Washington, which was anchored along side of the Maine, only about 100 yards distant. He happened to be on deck and to be looking towards the Maine at the instant of the explosion, and saw the entire bow of the ship lifted up almost out of the water by the force of the explosion. As this could not have been done by an internal explosion, the fact that the Maine was torpedoed from the outside was evident to him, as the Board of Naval Officers found to be the fact. Yet some perverse individuals, even some who wish to write history, like Mr. Millis the author of The Martial Spirit, still claim that the explosion was internal.

The 27th of June was my birthday, and I spent the morning of it wrestling with the Governor over my decree to nationalize the sanitation of municipalities. Why he did not do something so evidently necessary I could not clearly find out. He was a very able man, but seemed to have great difficulty in making up his mind, and stood also much in fear of the Cuban politicians. Also he had developed to an extraordinary degree the legal tendency to waste time and to postpone action. I was

106. consoled for my troubles in the morning by the wonderful dinner which our Spanish cook Rufina del Cour prepared in honor of my birthday. One course was a wonderful boiled red snapper with her famous salsa verde. There was plenty to drink as a number of my friends sent gifts which would not have been approved by Mr. Volstead. Mr. Frank M. Steinhart, who does nothing by halves, sent a case of champagne so we had a gay dinner.

In July I got through a liberal budget for my office (\$520,000) with a number of promotions, but no decree. The Governor now wanted all the local health officers selected before the decree was published and the "Claims and Jobs Committee" of the Cuban politicians naturally wanted to appoint them. This seemed to be the most important cause of the Governor's delay. I naturally wanted good sanitary officers, and the political leaders wanted good ward heelers. It seems to be rare that the professional and political qualifications are combined.

On August 5th I went to the Governor to report a new case of yellow fever at Matanzas, which important city had been free from it all summer. I took occasion to point out to him that, as I had no control over the local sanitary department there, I was quite helpless in enforcing efficient work although I sent down trained squads of fumigators and bought supplies for them. A stronger explosion than this however was necessary to move him, and it was not long in coming. Just a week later the death of a hospital sergeant from yellow fever was reported at Cienfuegas. I sent down our best experts from the National Board of Health, Drs. Finlay, Guiteras, and Agramonte, also Dr. Custodio with two inspectors, three *capitaces*, and thirty trained men, for fumigation. When Agramonte returned I took him over to the Governor so that he could hear Agramonte's report of conditions in Cienfuegos under the Municipal Health Board. Agramonte reported that the Health Department of the city was utterly disorganized and inefficient, no records, no reports of contagious diseases, no inspections of the hospitals and quintas, no measures

107. taken against mosquitoes. The sanitary authorities did not know that yellow fever existed in the city until Agramonte told them it must be there, when they promptly found a case. I asked the Governor to put an American officer in charge of the sanitary work in Cienfuegos and at his suggestion went down to organize the work. I spent a very interesting week there and came back leaving Captain H.D. Thomason, M.C., in charge of the sanitary work of this city. As the local Board had no money they were quite willing to have Thomason take charge as long as the funds came from the National Sanitary Department. The American troops were using a private hospital, the Quinta Landa, for their post hospital, and this had become infected. The hospital corps detachment therefore furnished most of the cases among the troops. I found that they had fumigated this building, but had failed to fumigate the area underneath, the first story being several feet above the ground. When this was done, no other cases occurred in that building.

One day I and my party were invited to a noon breakfast by a prominent old Spanish merchant in this city, Señor Balbin, who nearly fed us to death. We had the dinner in the back of his store, and all the clerks and employees sat at the long table with us in the patriarchal Spanish fashion. They were served exactly the same food with us, but I observed they had the ordinary wine from the casks in pitchers, whereas we were served a very good bottled wine.

When I got back I found the Governor at length ready to sign the decree. It was signed and published on Monday, August 26th, being Decree No.894. I found that he had been much prodded by the newspapers as well as by me for his delay, and I think that he had heard from Washington also. Ireland sent me later a copy of a long telegram which he had sent to the Secretary of War which contained the remarkable statement that he did not believe that the mosquito was the only way of conveying yellow fever. This sounded strange from a man who had come

108. from Panama and witnessed Gorgas' admirable work there. On August 28 the old *Junta Superior Nacional de Sanidad* had its last meeting, it being superseded by my new *Junta Nacional*, a much smaller body. I will append on a separate sheet a list of this old Junta showing not only the able men who were on it, but the curious representative character of its composition. Those who were not appointed on the new Commission received my goodbyes very courteously. Dr. Jacobsen the originator and President of the *Liga Contra Tuberculosis* [Anti-Tuberculosis League] felt that it was a great blow to that important organization not to be represented on the new Junta. I told him that I thought it would be an advantage to the *Liga* to be disconnected from the Government, but he could not see it.

The month of September was a very busy one devoted to planning the organization of the Health Departments of cities of the various sizes, and determining the allotments of money for service and for supplies for each class. They were arranged according to population in six classes. I started in also at once to buy mules, carts, tools, and sanitary supplies of every sort. My chief difficulty was to get the Governor to make appointments of municipal sanitary officers. I could only make nominations to him; he consulted the political leaders of both parties, and if neither side objected he would appoint them. As, however, each side has its own candidates for every position, it rarely happened that the nominations went through without a long period of negotiations and efforts by the politicians to get me to withdraw my nomination and substitute theirs. The Governor did not make a single appointment between August 26th and October 12th, on which latter date he made a few. The situation was trying to the last degree.

On October 6th General Barry gave the field officers of the Army who had been brought from all over the island the prescribed "test of skill and endurance in horsemanship." We rode 20 miles in three and a half hours, most of it at a hard trot, and occasionally at a gallop. We started at 6 A.M. and were home having a bath and a drink by 10 A.M. Most of

109. the riders got through very well. I had been taking some preliminary practice, and so had no inconvenience beyond a little muscular soreness across the shoulders.

The Governor on November 22nd signed the decree #1127 adding the Quarantine Service to the National Sanitary Service where it should have been all along. It took eight months to get through this very obvious consolidation. I think that the consolidation was made easier by the fact that it gave the Chief of the Quarantine Service a place on the new National Board of Health which carried with it a salary of \$1,200 in addition to his other salary.

The yellow fever in Cienfuegos after flaring up in September (when there was the death of an American soldier among others) and a smaller flare-up in October, at length disappeared and I was able to withdraw Major Thomason early in November. The quarantine against Cuba on account of yellow fever was raised on Dec. 16th, there having been no cases in the island for a number of weeks. Even if there had been, there was no occasion for continuing after the first of November as I pointed out to the U.S. Public Health Service, because if a case was introduced into the United States it could not spread anywhere except possibly at Key West because the yellow fever mosquitoes, if not killed, did not bite at the temperatures then prevalent in the southern cities. It had been customary for many years for the quarantine to be removed from Cuba about the 15th of November no matter how many cases of yellow fever there were in Havana. Why this rule should not have been continued when we had Americans in charge of the island no one could understand, except Surgeon General Wyman of the Public Health Service. Magoon used to tell me that it was because the Chief Sanitary Officer of Cuba was an Army officer and not a Public Health officer.

110. On 21 December I appeared by written invitation before the *Comision Consultiva* which was engaged in a codification and reform of the laws of Cuba, to discuss a proposition which I had already made to Colonel Crowder, the Chairman of the *Comision* in a memorandum some days before. This was to unite the Department of Beneficencia, which had the administrations of hospitals, asylums, and eleemosynary institutions and charities, to the National Sanitary Service; these two to be a Department of Sanitation & Charities under a Secretary who should be a Cabinet officer. This proposition was opposed by Major Greble in whose Secretariat of Gobernacion Beneficencia had been placed by the Cubans. His objections were, however, based on his own preferences rather than on sound administrative principles, and the consolidation was adopted in the new code and is still in force. It has worked exceedingly well. We will see later that it was extended in 1911 to Puerto Rico with the centralized control of municipal sanitation. Major William M. Black (afterwards Chief of Engineers) was in favor of transferring municipal sanitation to his Department of Public Works, but this was defeated, although his presentation of his case was far better than Major Greble's.

There were seven cases of yellow fever in the island during December 1907. There were three areas in which the infection lingered, and in which sporadic cases cropped up from time to time. These were (1) in Southeastern Havana province, (2) in the zone about Cienfuegos, and (3) in Santiago de Cuba, and a narrow zone in the east of it. Into each of these zones I arranged to send during the new year a medical scout who should be a doctor well skilled in the diagnosis of fevers, and the use of the microscope. These were to have special allowances in addition to their pay when they were in the field.

Ireland, who wrote to me every week or oftener as to the progress of the Medical Department Bill, cabled me on January 28, 1908, that it had passed the Senate, being the third time that it had been passed by that body. The

111. chances for its becoming a law were, he thought, very bright this year.

On January 27, 1908 the Governor and Crowder went north, with many speculations as to the purpose of their trip. The Governor failed to carry out my recommendation to dismiss the inefficient and incapable local Sanitary Officers. General Barry, who became Governor pro tem, refused to take any action in these cases, so I had to get him to let me have a medical officer from the Army of Occupation, Major John H. Allen, and I put him in charge of the Cienfuegos area.

Many robberies of Americans occurred during the winter and spring. On Feb. 6 I was robbed of some jewelry, including my father's watch and the watch chain that General O'Reilly brought me from Geneva in 1906. No silver was stolen. I took a long time to work out how the robber got into the house, which had iron gratings on the windows and doors.

The Governor and Crowder returned March 8th. Crowder brought me a gold watch from General O'Reilly, and a gold chain from Ireland to replace those stolen. He also brought the good news that the Medical Bill and the increase of pay bill would both pass.

My cousin, John G. Coolidge of Boston, who was Secretary of the Embassy at Mexico, was in Havana for several days, and came to see me at my office on the afternoon of Saturday, March 7th, and I took him into the sala of the National Board of Sanitation to a formal meeting of the Board at which they unveiled crayon portraits of the Governor, Dr. Carlos Finlay, and me, with the usual laudatory speeches.

We received a notice from Dr. Wyman, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Marine Hospital Service, about the end of March that he intended to quarantine the United States against Cuba on the 1st of April, although there was no case of yellow fever in Cuba, and had been none so far as we or he knew since the cases in the interior of the island at Santa Clara on Feb. 18th.

112. This was not only without excuse in common sense, but was in violation of a sanitary treaty which had been made some years before with the other American Republics, Cuba among them. So I got the Governor to make an appeal through the Secretary, to the President. The President ordered it held up for a week until he could get an answer from the Governor to Dr. Wyman's statement, an abstract of which, ten full typewritten pages, was cabled down. I prepared for the Governor a cable of 11 pages which was cabled back and considered in cabinet meetings. It was referred to Mr. Root, the Secretary of State. The final agreement was a compromise which was, however, very much in our favor. It was to consider Havana as not an infected port, but to require persons from the interior of the Island en route to the United States to stop in Havana or Marianao for a period of observation of six days. There was, of course, no quarantine against goods or anything except persons, and as the travel from the interior of the island to the United States was very light, this very mild restriction caused little inconvenience. Surgeon General Wyman's statement to the President contained some curious misstatements. For example, it said that the quarantine of the year before began on March 15th when in fact the date was May 28, two and a half months later. This was not a clerical error, as it was quoted as a precedent for the proposed quarantine on April 1st.

On the afternoon of April 23rd the joyful news came by cable that the Medical Bill was a law, having been signed by the President that day at 12:30 P.M. This gave us not only a proper sequence of promotion and much enlarged [Medical] Corps, but created the Medical Reserve Corps which was the beginning of our present reserve system for the whole Army. I telegraphed the good news to every medical officer in Cuba. We had a big dinner to celebrate it at the Miramar Cafes at the end of the Prado, and had a fine time with many good things to eat and to drink. Each officer could bring a lady, his wife, or if he did not have one, a lady friend. There were many jubilant

113. speeches, and we sent cables of thanks to the President, General Ainsworth, and to General O'Reilly. I had letters from Ireland and from Col. Arthur telling of the celebration dinner in Washington. It was at the Raleigh Hotel, and they had no ladies, but many speeches. General O'Reilly for once in his life made a speech giving the history of the legislation and my connection with it, including the preparation of the brief which converted Mr. Root, and then they drank my health. When their wives heard that the wives had all been present at the Havana dinner the husbands got good scoldings.

On April 29 I had a telegram from Major Thomason about a Spaniard with fever at the Spanish Quinta. I sent Dr. Guiteras to look at it, and on May 1st had a telegram from him that it was probably yellow fever. The man recovered and was discharged nine days later, but the occurrence of this case was a great misfortune, as it would excuse arbitrary action on the part of the Public Health Marine Hospital Service in the future. Meanwhile, General Clarence Edwards, who was Chief of the Insular Bureau, had published the correspondence between the Governor and Surgeon General Wyman in a neat little pamphlet. Copies of it were sent to all the state health officers in the south for their information; it made a bad showing for Dr. Wyman.

I put in my budget on May 18th to cover the six months' period from July 1st. As it carried the expenses of the local sanitary services of the municipalities as well as those of my office, it was far larger than the previous one, being \$2,550,000.

I had arranged about the middle of June to go with my friend, Colonel Slocum, who organized and commanded the Rural Guards of Cuba under General Wood, and had again command of them in the second intervention, on a visit of inspection to Santiago. I had my tickets, sleeper and all other accommodations made when, on the afternoon of June 16th Dr. Guiteras sent me word

114. that the Yellow Fever Board had declared a case of yellow fever in Havana coming from Casa Blanca just across the bay. I at once gave up my trip and went to see Guiteras, who seemed quite positive of the diagnosis. I asked him why the Board was so precipitate in its action, and he said that the man would probably die in the night. I held up the report however, and asked him to call the Board for a meeting the next morning at ten o'clock at the hospital. I said that of course my opinion could not add anything to the decision of so distinguished a group of experts in this disease, but that the Governor would expect me to see the case before it was finally declared. We found a young Spaniard intensely yellow with no temperature, but a pulse of 120. The spleen was slightly enlarged, but there was no black vomit, or evidence of hemorrhagic tendency. Dr. Finlay who had not seen the case before pronounced it yellow fever. Agramonte and Martinez were quite positive that it was not yellow fever, but what they called febrile icturus, by which they meant Weil's disease. Guiteras was now a little doubtful. The man was alive, but very ill, and the Board determined to see him again the next morning. Guiteras remarked that then they could probably have an autopsy which would settle things. I met with them the next morning at the hospital, and sure enough the man was dead. Guiteras performed the autopsy. The tissues were more yellow than those of yellow fever, and we waited with keen anxiety for him to open the stomach. When he did so it was clean and natural in appearance instead of being congested and full of black vomit as would have been the case with yellow fever. This was to me a most dramatic and impressive illustration of the difficulty in making a diagnosis between these two diseases. Here in the Yellow Fever Board was unquestionably the ablest group of experts on yellow fever in the world, and they had been positive to the point of making a declaration which would have brought a quarantine upon the island. I thought of this case often since and told

115. it to Russell when we were discussing Noguchi's famous error in claiming that he had discovered the causative organism of yellow fever, which he called "Leptospirsa icteroides." He recognized the close resemblance to those of the Leptospira of Weil's disease, but believed that he had established differences between them, which, however, are now known not to exist. I never accepted Noguchi's claim because I knew that Walter Reed had tried to infect guinea pigs and other laboratory animals with fresh yellow fever blood at the bedside, but had never been able to do so, whereas Noguchi found the guinea pig readily infected by his organism.

This incident having been happily terminated, I went off to Santiago and had a most interesting trip. Returning, we inspected the ancient inland city of Camaguey, the capital of the Province of Santa Clara. This city was clean, but had no system of water supply, and very few sewers, and the mosquito prevention work was most unsatisfactory due to the following curious conditions. Most of the water for household use was rain water gotten from the roofs of the houses and stored, not in cisterns, but in huge earthen jars, four or five feet high, like those described in the Arabian Nights in which the forty thieves concealed themselves. These jars, called *tinajones*, were apparently no longer made, and were handed down from generation to generation as precious possessions. They were naturally ideal breeding places for the yellow fever mosquito, which were then called stegomyia. All efforts to cover them were unavailing as the covers or screens would be removed to dip water and not replaced. A proposition to fasten wire netting on them tightly, drawing water by means of a faucet put in near the bottom, was indignantly rejected by the inhabitants, who declared that they would start a revolution rather than have holes bored in their sacred *tinajones*. MacMillan, the Sanitary Officer, and I decided to try the use of minnows caught in the local streams. It is my impression that I suggested this to him, but as he afterwards,

116. in a published article, claimed the idea as his own, I am willing to concede it to him. At any rate the experiment was very successful. The stock of minnows was kept in a large, concrete tank which had been made for other purposes. The children took immense interest in the minnows, and when anything happened to those in the family *tinajones*, they were eager to come with a bucket to get a new supply. The whole city took an interest in this experiment, and it was so successful that the yellow fever mosquitoes disappeared from Camaguey, and there was at no time any case of yellow fever there.

Yellow fever reappeared in the Santiago district in July - a local outbreak at the mining village of Daiquiri a few miles east of the city. We established a local quarantine at Daiquiri, and I sent Major Powell C. Fautleroy there to take charge of the suppression of the focus. ~~My budget, as approved by the Governor, was for \$2,395,678 which was about 9 per cent of the total budget of the island.~~ On July 5 the quarantine was removed from the three western provinces of the island and from the Isle of Pines. On Aug. 8th I sent in a saucy letter asking for its removal from all Cuba except Daiquiri. This letter was approved by the Governor, and was in the mail bag when I got a telegram from Major Thomason at Santiago of a case with suspicions of yellow fever: a man named Jesus Torres, taken sick, in the marketplace of all places. I got the Governor to hold back the letter awaiting a definite diagnosis in this case. Three days later a telegram came from Thomason, "Let us sing a Te Deum - Jesus Torres has had a white stool." So it was not yellow fever but simply jaundice, and the letter was carried to Washington by the Governor in person who went on a few days later.

On Sept. 7 I went to Washington with a delegation from Cuba to the International Congress of Tuberculosis. There were four other delegates, our expenses being paid by the Insular Governor. Mrs. Kean went with me and we had a wonderful trip, and were made much of by our friends. But my enemy yellow fever pursued me, and a case was announced by a cable a couple of days after my arrival. Dr. Wyman

117. promptly declared a quarantine on the 16th against all Cuba, in violation of the provision of the Sanitary Convention of 1905 providing for the localization of quarantines. Governor Magoon sent an energetic protest and the Secretary of War sent for him, and in my presence, and that of General O'Reilly and General Clarence Edwards, tried to get a promise from him to take it off if there were no other cases. He promised a reply the next day, but did not send it. When I asked him how he justified his action under the Convention, he had the nerve to say that he had only quarantined Havana and Oriente, which he must have known was untrue. The quarantine was lifted on Sept. 30th.

While in Washington I took my examination for promotion to lieut. colonel. Stephenson, Phillips, and I took the examination together and had the same medico-military problem. Our promotions had been hastened by the failure of number of the older majors to pass their examinations. One of them was Major R.W. Johnson who was in Havana as Supply Officer. He was the only officer in or near Havana who did not attend our dinner in celebration of the Medical Bill (except Willcox who was prevented by sickness).

The question of who would succeed General O'Reilly as Surgeon General was much discussed in the Corps at this time. A friend of mine in Boston had written me some time before that Major Henry L. Higginson, the Boston banker of whom she was an intimate friend, had told her that when on a visit to Washington he had dined with the President. In the course of conversation Mr. Roosevelt had told him that the next Surgeon General would be either Gorgas or Kean. To my friends who spoke to me about it I said that of course I would be glad to get it if they were going to disregard seniority, but otherwise I thought Torney should get it. Just before leaving Washington I saw the President who made me sit down and talked with me freely about General O'Reilly's successor. He said he was inclined to

118. think I was the best man for it, but did not want to discourage the seniors in the [Medical] Corps by jumping them. He said that he had not made up his mind between me and Colonel Torney. I told him that while I was proud to be considered for it, I did not lay any claim to it and would be entirely satisfied with his decision, whatever it was. I appreciated the fact that Colonel Torney's selection would be much more satisfactory to the seniors. The President said that I had been strongly recommended to him by Surgeon Generals O'Reilly and Rixey, and repeated as I left, "I have not yet made up my mind."

The President gave a reception to the delegates of the International Congress of Tuberculosis, and on 1 Oct. Secretary Root gave them a state dinner. I went with General O'Reilly and Ireland and enjoyed Mr. Root's beautiful address followed by speeches from Professor Koch, and Drs. Landousy, Arloing, Sims, Woodhead, Welch, von Schrotter, and others.

We were entertained at dinner almost every evening during the last ten days of our stay. On Oct. 11 Major Straub gave a large dinner to Colonel Russell of the British [Royal Army] Medical Corps, who had come over as a delegate to the annual meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons. After the dinner, Colonel Russell, Col. Havard, Lynch, and I took the night train for Atlanta, where the meeting would be held. There was a strong effort made at this meeting to admit to membership a lot of persons who had never held a medical officer's commission. Among those who sought admittance were a curious aggregation of queer looking people dressed up in the uniforms of Generals and Colonels of the U.S. Army, who called themselves the National Volunteer Aid Association, and who were very generous in conferring titles of rank upon each other. Colonel Pilcher, the Secretary of the Association, was one of the organizers of this N.V.A.A. and was dressed as a Major General! They did not get very far, and we heard no more of them.

119. I arrived in Havana on the 19th of October, being ahead of my family who came from Newport News by transport a couple of hours later.

On Nov. 3, after dining with Col. Slocum, I went to the Palace to hear the Presidential election returns. It soon became clear that Taft and Sherman were elected.

On November 6th, while attending a meeting of the *Comision Consultiva* which was considering my law of Sanidad y Beneficencia, I had a cable from Ireland which said, "Hold your breath, something doing." We were naturally somewhat excited by this, and the next day Col. Slocum cabled back, "How long do you think Kean can hold his breath?" In less than two hours the answer came, "Secretary says a day or two." Slocum was much elated thinking that this meant my appointment as Surgeon General, but I took it to mean simply that a decision had been reached. Nothing more was heard until Friday the 13th while I was at the *Comision Consultiva* a cable came "Torney has been appointed." I think that both Slocum and Ireland were more disappointed than I was, for I had made up my mind not to set my heart on it, and was besides very doubtful whether I would be happy with the seniors of the [Medical] Corps hostile to me, as they certainly would have been if I had been jumped over their heads.

On Dec. 3rd Dr. Carlos J. Finley was *jubilado*, which means retired, and the occasion was his 75th birthday when there was a special session of the Academy of Medical, Physical, and Natural Sciences in his honor. He was first presented by the French Minister with the decoration of the Legion of Honor. Then I, as the representative of the Government, handed to the acting President, Dr. Santos Fernandez, a decree laudatory of Dr. Finley's services and retiring him on January 1st, 1909 from the position of *Jefe de Sanidad*, and creating for him the position for his lifetime of Honorary President of the National Board of

120. Sanitation and Charities. Much to my surprise I was required, as the Governor's representative to preside at the meeting, and had to sit in a huge chair on a dais. Next day General Barry gave us our annual "test of skill and endurance in horsemanship." All the field officers in the Island of Cuba were there. We were first examined physically, and then took a three days ride of 100 miles. The last day was over country roads and rough trails, and in many places we had to walk and lead our horses. Several of the officers suffered a good deal, and one, Lieut. Col. Silas E. Wolfe, fainted after walking up the long hill at Mariel. I had taken a number of preparatory rides, and suffered very little discomfort.

On the 20th I had a very nice letter from General O'Reilly which contained a message from the new Surgeon General saying that he would be glad to have me in his office, or would give me any station I wanted. Also a message from General Clarence Edwards, Chief of the Insular Bureau, saying that he wanted me to be Health Officer of the Philippines. He afterwards made me a formal offer of this appointment, but it carried no extra pay and I preferred to serve with General Torney in Washington.

January 1st, 1909.

The New Year brought me my promotion to lieut. colonel, the others promoted at the same time being Crosby, Edie, Gandy, McCaw; all my seniors. In the morning I went with my assistants, Major Fauntleroy and Captain Church, and Dr. E.B. Barnett, who had taken Dr. Finlay's place temporarily as *Jefe de Sanidad*, to pay our respects to the Governor. Then we went to Columbia Barracks

121. to call on General Barry. There we saw all the officers of this large garrison, dressed in white, march from the Adjutant's office across the parade to pay their respects to General Barry, after which they joined the ladies who were under tent flies on the lawn waiting to receive them.

The year began badly for the Sanitary Department. On the 2nd I had a telegram from Thomason stating that there had been two suspicious cases at San Luis near Santiago, and the autopsy from one of them who died showed that it was yellow fever. How these two Spaniards in this little town picked up this infection is yet a mystery. The last case in Oriente Province was four months before, and there had been no case in the island since the one isolated case in Havana on September 7th. With all of our efforts the mystery was never cleared up as to where these Spaniards got their infection.

January was a busy month as there was much to be done in the way of finishing up countless odds and ends of business before turning over the Government to the Cubans.

The members of the Cuban Government having been all elected, or appointed by the newly elected President, I had frequent conferences with Dr. Matias Duque, who had been selected to be the new Secretary of Sanidad y Beneficencia. There were also of course many dinners and other entertainments. On the 25th the National Sanitary Board, and the higher officials of the Department of Sanitation gave me a beautiful dinner at the Louvre. My last day

122. at the office was on the 26th, and the last of many cables from Major Ireland was to tell me that the courtesies of the port had been granted me by the Treasury Department so that I could bring in all the cigars that I wanted. Thursday the 28th was a beautiful day. At 11 o'clock I dressed in civilian clothes with a frock coat and silk hat and drove to the palace where I saw Gen. José Miguel Gomez inaugurated as President. Then we all walked to the wharf where Governor Magoon took a launch and went aboard the battleship Maine, while the Advisors went aboard the transport. We were escorted to the wharf by the officials of the new Government and a great crowd of spectators including the officers of the Army of Cuban Pacification. Then preceded by the battleships Maine and Mississippi, we steamed out of Havana Harbor at 2 P.M., and by night we were out of sight of Cuba.

So ended the second intervention.

In an appendix will be found an extract from the annual report of Hon. William H. Taft, Sec'y of War for 1909, with reference to the sanitary work in Cuba in the second intervention.

123. We had fine weather the day after we left Havana, but the next day came a storm with wind off shore, fortunately for us. Captain Lothrop, master of the transport, lost his reckoning and in the forenoon changed his course from N.E. to N.W. believing that he had passed Cape Hatteras. But he hadn't, and soon we saw land, and then houses, and I saw distinctly men running along the shore apparently excited at our appearance there. When the Captain had the lead thrown we had only eight fathoms of water, and before he could stop the ship the screw was churning up sand. He did not dare to turn until he had backed out a mile. It was a narrow escape, and if it had been at night we would have been wrecked on Cape Hatteras.

When we landed at Newport News the wind was from the north and it was bitterly cold. I came with the majority of the officers and their families up to Washington on Feb. 2nd, and I took an apartment at the Oakland on Columbia Road. I took a ten days' leave before going to duty in the S.G.O., and we spent it seeing our friends and going to dinners. On Feb. 18th I went to the Army and Navy reception at the White House where I had a special card of admission to the side entrance and be admitted to the reception room without delay. Unfortunately Mrs. Kean could not go as our little girl had come down with measles. I went with General Torney. We met many old friends there and it was very pleasant. The President was very cordial in his greeting.

Great preparations were made for Mr. Taft's inauguration and Penna. Ave. was very handsomely decked with flags, and the city was crowded with visitors and troops brought here for a great parade. Late in the evening of March 3 a rain began which turned to snow and developed into a great blizzard. The snow fell until 10:30 on March 4th and was 10 to 12 inches deep. The plans were carried out as well as they could be and the troops marched in snow and slush, but it was not an enjoyable or brilliant occasion. General and Mrs. O'Reilly left before the inauguration and sailed from New York for Spain on March 5th, 1909.

On the 13th I went with General Torney to say goodbye to Mr. Luke Wright, the

124. retiring Asst. Secretary of War and next we went to be presented to the new Secretary of War, Judge Dickinson of Tenn., a tall determined-looking man with a chin like Gen. Chaffee's. Curiously enough both Mr. Luke Wright and Secretary Dickinson were Democrats appointed in Republican administrations. I was put on an examining Board with Birmingham and Gandy for the examination of majors for promotion, and Woodruff, Shillock, and Mason came up before us - result, Woodruff and Shillock were retired for physical disability.

I took a typhoid immunization given by Russell on March 27. Ireland took his the week before, but Russell made me wait as I had a cold and sore throat. These were among the first given in our Army, and for over a year they were given only to volunteers. On Feb. 16th Russell gave the typhoid vaccine to my children, to Ireland's boy, and to Birmingham's children, his youngest, Billy, being only 7 or 8 years old. We made a point of having our wives and children immunized so as to show our confidence in it, and to encourage the rest of the Army to volunteer. I told this gesture of the medical officers in Washington to Gen. Fevrier, then the head of the Medical Service of the French Army, and it so pleased him that he told it to a meeting of all the medical officers in Paris, and said that he expected them to show the same spirit in supporting the use of typhoid vaccine in the French Army.

About this time I had a letter from Gorgas offering me command of Ancon Hospital on the Isthmus. But Goethals, who was in Washington, offered it to Mason, whose desk in the S.G.O. I was taking, so I wrote to Gorgas and declined it, and said nothing to Mason about it.

Representatives of the Medical Corps on the General Staff were Chas. Lynch, selected in May 1904 and served to May 1908, but was not replaced by a medical officer. Major Paul F. Straub was selected April 9, 1909.

On April 26, 1909, the Medical Society of the County of New York devoted a meeting to the Army & Navy Medical Services, and invited me to read a paper on the Medical Service of the Army, and Captain Stokes, afterwards Surgeon General, to

125. read one for the Navy. We both went under orders, and were very handsomely entertained by a dinner at the Yacht Club given by Dr. H. Seymour Houghton, President of the Society. My address was published in the Medical Record of August 14, 1909.

On June 6 the A.M.A. met at Atlantic City, Col. W.C. Gorgas being President. Crosby, Russell, Ireland, and I went under orders as the representatives of the Army. Ireland was in the House of Delegates. There, when Gorgas made his Presidential address his voice was so weak that not half the people in the hall could hear it. We made many interesting acquaintances whom we were to see again and often in the great war.

On June 12 I went to the University of Va. to be initiated into the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and stayed with my old friend Dean Lile of the Law School. The Phi Beta Kappa was just being established at the University, and they took in a number of representative alumni, as well as the selected undergraduates. Professor Lile, Dean of the Law School, Senator Oscar Underwood, Mr. White, and I were among the Alumni honored by this election. Professor Bliss Perry of Harvard, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, made the address to the Society. On July 9th I went out to Fort Myer to see the Wright brothers make a test flight to Alexandria and back, but there was a little wind and they took no chances and did not fly. I saw the Secretary of War, Judge Dickinson, and many other prominent people there. The Wrights did not make their flight until July 30. It was the first official test of the airplane by the government. Bleriot got ahead of them and flew across the British Channel a day or two earlier (July 27th or 28th). I did not see them fly as I had gone up to Stonyman Camp on the top of the Blue Ridge (altitude 3,600 feet) to spend a week with my family. I returned to Washington August 1st. Lynch republished in the Military Surgeon, of which he was editor, at my request, Clement's biographical sketch of Jonathan Letterman, Chief Surgeon of the Army of the Potomac, and Gen. Torney let me order reprints enough to send one to each medical officer in the Army.

126. This has done much to make our Corps acquainted with the life and work of this great man. His family brought his remains from San Francisco this summer, and they were reinterred at Arlington with much ceremony in which we all participated in uniform. I made a very pleasant acquaintance with his daughter who is a translator in the State Department, a very accomplished and pleasant, ~~but homely~~ single woman of about forty.

During the first week in August 1909 the Medical Department had a camp of instruction at Antietam for National Guard medical officers. It was, I think, the first of its kind. Congress adjourned August 6th. Representative Bennett of New York introduced a bill taking away our tuberculosis hospital at Fort Bayard and the Navy one at old Fort Lyons and putting them under the Marine Hospital and Public Health Service. Surgeon General Wyman claimed that this was done without his knowledge. ~~This may be true but none of us believed it.~~

On Aug. 22 I moved into my old house, 1913 S St. in which I lived from 1903 to 1906. On Sept. 6, Labor Day, we heard that Commander Peary had reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909. A man named Dr. Frederick Cook claimed about the same time that he had reached the North Pole with two Esquimaux companions on April 21, 1908. His story did not stand analysis however, and was not believed. He afterwards served a term in a penitentiary for some financial fraud. Peary had one companion, a negro, in his dash for the pole.

There was a letter published in the N.Y. Evening Post about Sept. 1st accusing the Surgeon General of favoritism in sending some men to foreign service out of their time and keeping others in the U.S. I prepared a memorandum for the Surgeon General which justified the Surgeon General and which was approved in toto by the Secretary of War. General Weatherspoon, Chief of Staff, in his endorsement said plainly that Major Woodruff was at the bottom of the complaint, which was confirmed by private correspondence. General Torney was in Europe most of the summer, Col. Havard being acting Surgeon General, and as he did not spend a great deal of time in the office, I had to prepare all the memorandums of special cases etc. Lynch and Ireland were also in the office, the latter of course in charge of personnel. Lynch gave prac-

127. tically all of his time to the revision of the Medical Manual. Gen. Torney and Straub returned on the 4th of Oct. One case in which my memorandum, which was approved by the Secretary, especially pleased Gen. Torney was that of the death of Major Chynoweth in which the Department Commander, General A.L. Mills, had criticized sharply the surgeons at Fort McPherson because they withdrew from the case after the family had put Dr. McRae of Atlanta in charge of it, and he had removed the patient to a private hospital in town. The Department Commander was ordered to inform the medical officers concerned, Major Baker and Captain Napier, of the decision of the War Department that they would have done wrong to have obstructed his removal.

The Association of Military Surgeons met in Washington this year, October 5-8, 1909, Admiral Rixey, Surgeon General of the Navy, being President. He gave a dinner and reception on the 5th, and General Torney one on the 6th of October. General Sir Alfred Keogh and Inspector General James Porter, R.N., represented the British Army and Navy Medical Services. It was a very successful meeting. The week after this meeting I spent as member of an examining Board for the promotion of the senior majors of the Corps. This examination was very laborious for the Board as, besides the physical examination, there was an oral professional examination of each and a written professional examination on the same subjects for those whose oral was not satisfactory. In addition there was a solution of a medico-military field problem. On this some candidates wrote at great length, especially those whose ideas were hazy and their information scanty.

Later in the month I attended the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in Richmond because it had been a custom that the assistant to the Surgeon General who had the Sanitary and Professional Division should be a member of that Association.

Major Francis A. Winter was relieved from duty at Fort Myer and assigned to duty in the S.G.O. in December, 1909.

On studying the results of sanitary recommendations of medical officers at

128. posts, I found that if they cost much money they were not approved by the Quartermaster General and so were rarely carried out. Fort Leavenworth was a notable example. There had been much typhoid there for years and the medical officers had often pointed out that the sewage of the Army Penitentiary was discharged into the Missouri River only a short distance above the intake for the post. This had often been pointed out in sanitary reports, but nothing was done about it. So I proposed to the Surgeon General to arrange with the Quartermaster General that Boards on such questions should be composed of the officer in each office who passed on such questions, and Major F.F. Russell, M.C. (from the laboratory of the Army Medical School) as recorder. This was done and we went to Fort Leavenworth first. I was President, and Capt. B.F. Clayton, Q.M. (afterwards killed by a German airplane bomb in France) was the Quartermaster General's representative. We found the septic tank system of sewage purification at the post out of order and not working. The septic tank at the prison was also in bad condition. Our Board made its report, which was written up by Russell and sent to the Adjutant General, who referred it in turn to the Surgeon General and Quartermaster General. I prepared the endorsement for the Surgeon General and it then went to the Quartermaster General where Clayton prepared his endorsement. These two Departments being in perfect accord, the Chief of Staff approved and the necessary money was asked and allotted. So the scheme went through without a hitch and everyone was pleased. This plan was used regularly thereafter.

On November 23rd the Chief of Staff sent up a confidential memorandum asking for the medical organization to go with an expeditionary force to assemble at San Francisco and land at Covinto and San Juan del Sur in Nicaragua. It was to consist of 8 battalions of infantry, 4 squadrons of cavalry, a regiment of mountain artillery, a battalion of engineers, 3 signal companies, 2 field hospitals and 2 ambulance companies. Colonel Birmingham was selected as Chief Surgeon and Traub as Sanitary Inspector. The General Staff was quite liberal and authorized five medical officers and 28 Hospital Corps [men] for each regiment of two battalions. We

129. recommended that all the personnel be vaccinated against typhoid at their stations before they started. This recommendation was made November 27, 1909. This force was never organized however, as it was later decided to send Marines to restore order. The Secretary of War in his annual report given out December 2nd, 1909, devoted two and a half pages to my work in Cuba - about half of what he devoted to the entire Second Occupation.

On December 16, 1909, I had planned to go to Norfolk for a visit and had my ticket in my pocket when General Clarence Edwards came into the office to tell me that the Secretary of War, Judge Dickinson, wanted me to accompany him on a trip to Puerto Rico. General Edwards and two friends of the Secretary, Mr. Caruthers and Mr. Ewing, and Mr. Pedigo of the Secretary's office, made up the party. We sailed on the Mayflower, the President's beautiful yacht, at 4 P.M. on the 21st, and when we woke up next morning were outside the Capes and out of sight of land. We celebrated our Christmas dinner at sea about 200 miles north of San Juan. My cabin was most luxurious, as were all parts of this beautiful ship. It was about 15 feet square, the walls covered with brocade, and with a great brass bedstead. My bath tub was made from a solid block of colored marble. This fine vessel was built just before the Spanish War for Mr. Ogden Goelet of New York, who died in Europe just as it was finished, and the only time he was ever in it was when it was sent to bring home his body. On the outbreak of war it was bought by the United States as a dispatch boat, and after the war became the President's yacht. Mr. Hoover gave it up, and while laid up at Philadelphia it caught fire and was ruined.

We arrived at San Juan on December 26 and were met at the wharf by the Governor, Hon. George R. Colton and the principal officials of the Governor, and by Lieut. Col. Howze, commanding the Puerto Rican Regiment.

We were most hospitably entertained at the Governor's Palace during our stay. The Governor being a bachelor, his very attractive sister, Miss Colton, was our hostess. We took many delightful trips about the island and were lavishly entertained. The Puerto Ricans like their champagne sweet and do not object to having it warm, the loud

130. popping of the corks when in this state adding to the joy of the occasion. After a very gay and busy Christmas week we left San Juan on Jan. 3, 1910, for San Domingo, where we arrived next morning and spent several days. There were many reminders of its founder, Christopher Columbus. The walls of the house in which lived his son and successor to the title Admiral of the Indies, Diego Columbus, are still standing, and in the fine old cathedral built in 1508 we were shown the place in the chancel from which his bones were disinterred in 1795 and transferred to the Cathedral at Havana under the impression that they were the remains of his father, Christopher. In repairing the floor of the chancel in 1877 a lead box was found containing the bones of the great discoverer. This box which is kept in a beautiful monument of bronze and glass was opened for our inspection. There is no articulated skeleton, but only a loose heap of bones and dust in which, attached to a string, was a musket ball found in his body received in a battle with corsairs when he was a young man. We left on the 5th of January for Santiago de Cuba which we reached in 24 hours. After a visit to the battlefield, and a pleasant stay of 24 hours at the well known Venus Cafe, we took the morning train for Havana and arrived there next morning, Jan. 8th. The Mayflower, with some of our party, went around and met us there. I was met at the train by many old friends, and during our delightful visit of two days stayed at my old home in Vedado, now occupied by my friend Mr. Ashley. On Sunday the 9th I was given a handsome almuerzo by old friends of the Department de Sanidad y Beneficencia. After numerous ceremonies and entertainments, we sailed the afternoon of the 10th and reached Charleston, S.C., three days later after a rough voyage, during which I was very seasick. We saw the sights of Charleston in the afternoon, though of course the famous gardens had no blooms. Taking the night train we reached Washington in time for breakfast, thus ending a wonderful trip. The Secretary took me home in his carriage.

I at once got to work on a draft of an act to centralize the municipal sanitation of the towns in Puerto Rico in the Insular Government as had been done so successfully in Cuba in 1902. This act failed of enactment by Congress being crowded out at the

131. end of the session, but it was taken up by the Insular Legislature and enacted just in time to enable the Insular Sanitary Department to have the necessary powers to combat, with the help of the U.S. Public Health Service, the epidemic of bubonic plague which broke out in 1912.

In February the President sent General Johnson and Colonel Crosby to see me about an inspection of the unimproved part of Potomac Park, south of the railroad to Haines Point, which was a low morass with pools of stagnant water. He wants a report as to its danger as a breeding place for mosquitoes so as to get an appropriation from Congress to have it filled up to the level of the seawall and made into an extension of the Park. I went, on Feb. 8th, 1910, with Colonel Crosby and Dr. Woodward to inspect it, and wrote a strong report which made a good backing for the President's recommendation. He got \$60,000 and it is now one of the most attractive parts of the park.

On Feb. 9th Gen. Torney, Major F.F. Russell and I met by appointment at the Willard Hotel, Professor Ira Remsen, President of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Wm. H. Welch, Mr. Baker of Baltimore, Mr. Herring and Mr. Parsons of New York, and Mr. Gray of Providence, R.I., three very prominent sanitary experts, and Mr. Calvin W. Hendrick, City Engineer of Baltimore. We went to the White House to recommend to the President, Mr. Taft, the appointment of a Commission to study the prevention of pollution of streams which had become a formidable menace to the health of the nation. He expressed much interest in the matter, but said that Congress had forbidden the President to appoint Commissions without its authority. He advised us to support the movement for a National Bureau of Health. No mention was made as I recollect of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service at this conference.

I wrote two important memoranda for the Surgeon General during the month. One was a protest against the suppression, by Gen. Goethals, of Gorgas's little monthly sanitary reports on the ground of expense. He was ordered by the Secretary to revoke the order and reestablish them. The other was regarding a rather savage letter from General Barry complaining that the Surgeon General had corresponded directly

132. with the Chief Surgeon of his Department, California, on the subject of vaccination against typhoid fever. I had a severe attack of influenza during the month, but was well enough to go with Russell and Major Clayton, of the Quartermaster General's office (our "go-get-em" Sanitary Board) to Chicago Feb. 23rd to arrange for the purification of the water supply of Fort Sheridan. We attended a meeting of the Lake Michigan Water Association where we got much valuable information. We were engaged on this work nearly a week.

Late in February General Leonard Wood was operated on for the second time by Dr. Harvey Cushing at Johns Hopkins Hospital for a brain tumor. He removed a glioma in the median line on the dura at the vertex. It was as large as a small orange. He recovered quickly from the operation.

In March I prepared a memorandum for the General Staff with reference to the right of medical officers of General and Base Hospitals in wartime to command the guards of the hospitals, and to have line officers under them as adjutants and quartermasters. The question came up with reference to the provisions about sanitary units in the new Field Service Regulations. On March 22nd, Lynch, Straub, and I attended a General Staff meeting where the matter was discussed. We won out in the two-hour debate as we had good reasons, and our opponents only strong prejudices to put up against them.

I dined May 1 with Judge Dickinson, Secretary of War, to meet Governor Colton of Puerto Rico, and Mr. Diego, Speaker of the Puerto Rico Assembly. A number of Congressmen were there, and also Gen. C.R. Edwards, Chief of the Insular Bureau. Governor Colton told me that Surgeon General Wyman of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, was enraged over the provisions which we had put in the bill (then before Congress) to prevent his imposing a quarantine on Puerto Rico without the consensus of the Secretary of War. I had this put in on account of his arbitrary conduct in the imposition of quarantines on Cuba which were not justified by common

133. sense or by the Sanitary Convention of Washington. It was good sport to have him put on the defensive and have to make vain excuses. Dr. George H. Simmons, editor of the Journal A.M.A., and Secretary of the A.M.A. came in about the middle of May to talk about the Owen Bill (S-8024) to erect a monument in Washington to Walter Reed and his associates. He asked me to write an editorial for the Journal A.M.A. favoring it, which I did with great pleasure. He also said that Wyman was opposing Owen's Bill to create a Department of Public Health, and that the President had said on one occasion that if Wyman was too much in the way he would be removed. Dr. Simmons also suggested to me to write a series of fifty-two articles on sanitary subjects, which could be afterwards brought together into a treatise on preventive medicine. I was flattered at the proposition, but did not feel that I had the time to do anything worth while with such a big proposition.

I went out with the Surgeon General to see the full length portrait of Walter Reed at the Walter Reed Hospital which the Surgeon General had had painted by a woman recommended by Mrs. Reed at a cost of \$600. We agreed that it was a bum job. He suggested that it might be improved by cutting off the legs and making a half length of it!

I got up at 3 A.M. May 15th to see Halley's Comet. It was in the east, and rather dim as the air was somewhat misty. The tail stretched nearly to the zenith.

While Gorgas was in Washington on his way to the meeting at St. Louis of the American Medical Association, of which Gorgas was President, he came to see me about a proposition of Appleton's that he write a 500-page textbook on hygiene and sanitation. He said that he did not have time to undertake such a work, but if I would be a co-author and do the bulk of the work, he would undertake it and pay the expenses of publication, and he thought we would make a good thing out of it financially. I did not have the time either but allowed myself to be talked into it. I did quite a lot of preliminary work on it at odd times and in the evenings after ten o'clock

134. and wrote a couple of chapters, but made such slow progress that I saw I would never finish it unless I gave up my time to it, which was out of the question. Finally Appleton published, in 1913, Milton J. Rosenau's fine textbook, Preventive Medicine and Hygiene, which gave me a good excuse to withdraw from our contract as it destroyed the market for our book.

On June 9, 1910, Captain Albert G. Love, Medical Corps, came for duty to the Surgeon General's office and reported as my assistant. He was an honor graduate of the Army Medical School, and most of the work of his life since that time has been in connection with the work which he then took up of medical statistics, preventive medicine, and the writing of the Surgeon General's reports.

On July 29 the Surgeon General and I went down to the office of the Chief of Staff to pay our respects to General Wood who had just been appointed to that office. He was looking very well, but as he did not get out of his chair I could not judge the extent of his lameness due to a partial paralysis since the operation by Cushing for a brain tumor. General Robert Shaw Oliver, Assistant Secretary of War, who was always very friendly to me, invited me to go with a party which he had gotten up to visit the Painted Desert in Northern Arizona and the Grand Canyon. We left Washington June 29th for Fort Wingate, New Mexico, where Captain Frank R. McCoy, my old friend of Cuban days, was in command of two troops of cavalry; he had gotten together a large pack train of 60 mules and provided good riding horses for the party of six. He had also explored the famous Canyon de Chelly and found a practicable bridle path by which we could enter it at the upper end and travel through its whole length. Our transportation, which started before us, went west to its mouth, and met us halfway up the canyon where we had a beautiful camp on a level green meadow by the small stream which runs through it. The troop of cavalry which accompanied us camped a little below. This canyon has vertical cliffs of red sand stone said to be 800 ft high, and high up on the cliffs are the entrances to the habitations of the cliff. How they ever got up to them without wings is

135. marvelous, and the difficulties in raising children in such places must have been extraordinary, besides the fact that all food and water had to be carried up along narrow projecting ledges. They must have lived in constant terror of surrounding enemies to adopt such a wretched life. At the mouth of the Canyon de Chelly are two huge detached pillars of red sand stone called "the Captains," which are said to be nearly 1,000 ft high. The little stream soon loses itself in the sands of the desert after leaving the shelter of the canyon.

After traveling through the Navajo country we visited several of the Moqui (as they call themselves the Hopi) villages perched on the flat tops of high mesas. On August 21 we reached the first one, Walpi, on a very precipitous mesa 700 feet high. The next village, Hano, is inhabited by Indians of a different race and language who fled from the Rio Grande valley after the massacre of the Spaniards about 1690. This was the only remnant left of their tribe. We next visited the important Hopi town of Oraibi where we stopped over to see the famous snake dance. There was quite a large crowd of spectators including (besides the Hopi) Navajos, people from neighboring agencies, also the Postmaster General (Mr. Hitchcock), and Mr. Cameron, Congressman from Arizona, were there. We then went on to Hote Villa, another Moqui village, where we saw an even better snake dance than at Oraibi. Two of the snake dancers were little boys not more than ten years old, but they went through their part with the same gravity and courage as their elders. After leaving the Moqui villages we marched southwest for several days, and finally reached a little Mormon settlement called Tuba, where was a fine spring which made quite a little lake, and was surrounded by the orchards and cultivated fields of the Mormons. On August 27 we marched twenty-odd miles and crossed over Little Colorado, the bottom of the canyon which we reached by riding along the gradual descending canyon. The Little Colorado, much to our relief, was only knee deep to the horses, but the water was thick with clay like red paint, and could not be drunk by either men or horses, nor would it pass through a filter. Captain McCoy, however, found a pool of rain

136. water where in winter a spring came over a cliff. It had just enough water to supply us and our hundred animals with water for one night. About sunset an Indian messenger reached us with a note from the agent at Tuba telling us that Private Jones, who with one of the little detachments left there with wagons which were to return to the post, had been drowned while taking a swim in the little lake. It was a strange death to come to a man in the middle of this great desert. McCoy at once mounted his horse, rode all night, looked into the circumstances, saw that the man was properly buried and returned to the camp that evening after thirty-six hours in the saddle. The next morning we climbed out of the canyon in the same way that we had entered it through another ladder of canyons, and came to a fine grove of pine trees in the timber reservation. Some of the party determined to spend a day and rest the horses, but I went on to Grand Canyon to reach the railroad at El Tovar, as I had orders to attend a meeting of the American Public Health Association at Milwaukee on September 6th. I had a chance in the afternoon, however, to enjoy a good view of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. At night, taking the train, I went back to Washington, which I reached on Sunday the 4th. So ended one of the most delightful trips that it has been my good fortune to enjoy.

At Milwaukee I read a paper on the prevention of venereal diseases, being a member of a Committee appointed to consider that subject at the last meeting. The title of my paper was, "A Plea for the Employment of the Methods of Preventive Medicine Against Venereal Diseases." The paper received many compliments, and also some rather severe criticism. Major F.F. Russell, who was also a delegate to the meeting, read an excellent paper on typhoid vaccination.

On my return to Washington I went to see the Chief of Staff to find out his attitude towards a proposition to make typhoid vaccination compulsory in the Army. He said that he would favor it, and so it was put into the annual report as a recommendation. This important step had, however, a hard road to travel before it

137. was carried into effect, as will be seen further on. I also spoke to General Wood about the curious prohibition in the regulations for the admission to the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs against admitting venereal cases. He asked me if there was any good reason for this prohibition. I said I did not know of any, so he directed me to cut it out of the circular of information. When the Surgeon General made the formal recommendation that all recruits be immunized against typhoid by vaccination, General Ainsworth, as Adjutant General, who was in charge of the recruiting of the Army, opposed it on the ground of expediency. He predicted that the anti-vaccinationists would make a great row over it, and the War Department would back down. He also called for a report of what was done in this matter in other countries. As Russell's work had put us far ahead of the other countries, we could only say that no other country as far as we knew had this requirement, but the Surgeon General did not see why our country had to wait on any other in order to take an important forward step in preventive medicine. On May 11th, 1911, eight months later than this conversation, at the height of the conflict between General Wood and General Ainsworth, we brought up the matter of the vaccination of recruits again, and General Wood at once issued the order that it should be done.⁸ I watched for the outcry of the anti-vaccinationists, but nothing was heard except one short protest in a weekly magazine.

General Wood's attitude towards the Medical Department was, during this winter, on the whole, far from friendly, and we felt that he gave aid and encouragement to some rather unworthy attacks on us. One of these which caused the Surgeon General much trouble was the Greenleaf-Slater case. Major Henry S. Greenleaf, the Surgeon at Madison Barracks, New York, had under him a Medical Reserve lieutenant on active duty named Slater who made application to stand examination for entrance in the regular Corps. Greenleaf supported this application with a letter of recommendation, but afterwards some actions of Slater's having caused him to change his opinion as to his desirability for the Corps, wrote a confidential letter to the Surgeon General

⁸ The creation of the General Staff in 1903 had not settled the question of whether the established Bureaus would retain significant influence. Maj. Gen. Ainsworth was not only personally well-connected, but as The Adjutant General he headed probably the most influential bureau in the War Department. It took several years, and Ainsworth refusing a clear order, to establish the supremacy of the General Staff. On Ainsworth, see Mabel E. Deutrich, Struggle for Supremacy: The Career of General Fred C. Ainsworth (1962, Public Affairs Press).

138. withdrawing his recommendation and giving his reasons. The Surgeon General then withdrew the authorization for Slater to appear before the Army Examination Board. Slater took the matter up through his Congressman, and finally preferred charges against Greenleaf, to which Greenleaf replied by countercharges against Slater. An Inspector General was sent from Washington to look into the matter, and made the foolish recommendation that both of them be court martialed. Slater was tried first and acquitted so that things began to look serious for Greenleaf. I was summoned as a witness on two points. The first was as to the propriety of the Surgeon General having a secret direct correspondence with his officers on the subject of the qualifications of candidates. I was able to testify that this custom was one of many years' standing, and the necessity for it was obvious since few people are willing to put on record their honest opinion of persons they know if they believe their letter is to be passed around through official channels. The other point was as to the purpose of the Medical Reserve Corps, and one of its functions, which was as a feeder for the regular Medical Corps. The Judge Advocate General gave me searching cross-examination, but was not able to shake my testimony in any way. Greenleaf was acquitted. The Surgeon General then had Slater's station changed to Columbia Barracks where he put under Lieut. Col. Fisher. He found an opportunity to get into Fisher's safe and read his personal letters, among which he found one from Ireland telling him Slater was a person to be watched and handled carefully. This he obtained. Slater told General Wood that he was being persecuted by the Surgeon General's office and showed him Ireland's letter as evidence of it. The Surgeon General demanded that Slater should be discharged for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman for taking the letter, but he was brought to Washington instead and placed on duty there while his complaints were investigated by an inspector. He finally became involved in such a nest of false statements that the inspector recommended his discharge. This was finally done after a long delay which was mortifying to the Surgeon General.

General Wood sent for me one day and talked to me about another matter in which

139. he was unwilling to discharge a captain who had failed on his examination, and the discharge was therefore required by law. After discussing this case, and some reference to the Slater case, he asked if I thought the Medical Department was having a hard time under his administration. I replied, yes, I did; I thought that we were under the hammer. He smiled and said, "Well cheer up, it will not always be so."

When the conflict between General Wood and General Ainsworth, which shook the War Department for more than a year, began, General Torney's assistants (especially Ireland and myself) begged him to remain neutral and on good terms with both parties as the fight was not our business and it was unwise to incur the enmity of either party. General Torney, who was of an impulsive disposition and always willing to fight for his friends, to our dismay openly took the side of General Ainsworth. In so doing he did not increase his influence with General Ainsworth, but incurred the hostility of General Wood who soon ceased to consult him, and when he wanted information from his office sent for me. This put me in a very difficult position. I made a rule, however, not to go to see General Wood without going first to General Torney saying the Chief of Staff has sent for me. He usually inquired what does he want, to which I would reply, I did not know, but would inform him as soon as I returned. On coming back I would give him a full statement of what had transpired, omitting only an occasional matter which he (Wood) directed me to consider confidential.

On March 6, 1911, Ireland came to my house just before dinner telling me that the Chief wanted us at the office after dinner. We went down and found that orders had been issued to mobilize a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry at San Antonio. We were to find the medical personnel and get together the medical units for this reinforced division, which was called a maneuver camp. It was obviously intended to be ready to take action against Mexico, but the steps had been taken so swiftly and silently that nothing appeared in the newspapers about it until the troops were already on their way to the mobilization point. Colonel Birmingham

140. was selected to be Division Surgeon with Straub as Sanitary Inspector and Persons as his assistant. The class at the Army Medical School was graduated at once so as to be able to join the troops. We asked General Wood to use the vaccination on this entire command against typhoid fever, which he agreed to, and the order was issued the same day that an application from General Carter commanding the camp reached Washington requesting such an order. In this way the Maneuver Division became a test on a large scale of typhoid vaccination.

During March we were called on to work on a plan for the Medical Service of two field armies of 60,000 each. It was not an academic problem, but was being energetically studied by the General Staff to meet some anticipated emergency, the exact character of which was never given out. In our plans we of course made use of the Medical Reserves, and as they all had the same grade of first lieutenant, we asked that legislation be obtained to issue them volunteer commissions as follows: 15 lieutenant colonels; 100 majors; 150 captains. Ebert and Birmingham were selected to be the Army Chief Surgeons. At the end of March Major Chas. Lynch finished his revision of the Medical Manual and it went to the General Staff for approval. It came back with some criticisms which seemed to us rather unnecessary, and which on further discussion of the matter were withdrawn. This was a fine piece of constructive work on the part of Major Lynch.

In April I had a curious experience. The President sent for me on the 11th and told me that he wanted a memorandum on the plague situation in California, and that I must go and talk the matter over with the Secretary of Agriculture getting all the information I needed from that Department. I told him that this work was in the hands of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service and had been for some years. He said he knew it, but he wanted some independent advice, so I had to make a study of the matter and bring him a memorandum. This incident showed me his distrust of the Surgeon General Walter Wyman. The President also called on me for another memorandum

141. which I was much more anxious to give him. He had been formally invited by a delegation from the Medical Club of Philadelphia, headed by Dr. Rodman, to be their guest at a great dinner on the 4th of May, and they wanted him to speak on the subject of tropical diseases during the period that he had been Governor General of the Philippines and Secretary of War, and he wished the data for a speech on this subject. As during that time only the Army had been actively engaged in the study of tropical diseases in our country, it was a great chance to glorify their work beginning with the work of Walter Reed in Cuba. General Sternberg, General Torney, and myself were in the Presidential party which went by special train, and we were the guests of the Medical Club during the evening and night that we were in Philadelphia. The dinner was the most magnificent that I ever attended, and one thousand doctors were present at the meeting and addresses in the Clover Club ball room of the hotel afterwards. Besides the President, Drs. Weir Mitchell, William H. Welch, and C.A.L. Reed spoke, and all sung the praises of the Army for their preventive medicine work in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. It was a great day for the Medical Corps of the Army.

On May 22nd we were all presented to the new Secretary of War, Mr. Henry L. Stimson, who succeeded Judge Jacob M. Dickinson. Mr. Stimson was the son of Dr. Lewis A. Stimson of New York, author of a well-known handbook on fractures. He afterwards became Secretary of State in President Hoover's administration. During this year the "Battle of Giants" between General Ainsworth, the Adjutant General, and General Wood, as Chief of Staff, for control rocked the War Department. General Wood at this time advocated short enlistments and the transfer of the Inspector General's Department to the General Staff. Representatives Hay and Sladen were General Ainsworth's able and active backers in the House Military Committee, and General Ainsworth vigorously opposed these changes, as well as the efforts of the General Staff to administer the routine business of the War Department. To anticipate a little subsequent events, when the Hay bill was reported from the Military Committee on January 30, 1912, it was accompanied by a report which was a bitter arraignment of General Wood and the

141a. Secretary of War. The inaccuracy and visionary character of the War Department schemes, especially their reserve plan, was attacked with remorseful force and clearness. Only one pen in Washington could have handled the War Department statistics with such effectiveness. My comment to Winter after reading it was, "The voice is the voice of Esau, but the hand is the hand of Jacob." Mr. Ray took a vote by mail of all the field officers of the line, 277 in number, on the War Department's scheme of short enlistments, and the overwhelming majority was against it. On Feb. 15 about noon a rumor went through the War Department that the President had relieved General Ainsworth from duty. When I went down at two o'clock to see him he had left the War Department forever, and Colonel McCain was Acting Adjutant General. The afternoon papers gave the Secretary's letter to General Ainsworth reciting his obstructions to the policy of the General Staff, and his contentious and insolent reference to them, which the Secretary took to refer in part to himself. General Ainsworth told the Surgeon General that he had been preparing for this for some time, and had packed up and taken home all his private papers in the last few months.

142. CHAPTER

In June, Lieut. Col. Chas. Lynch and I were sent as delegates representing the Medical Department to the annual meeting the American Medical Association in Los Angeles. I had never been to the west coast before and enjoyed greatly this opportunity to see it. I sat in the House of Delegates, and was able to arrange that Medical Officers of the Army and Navy should be Fellows of the Association without having to pay the usual fee of \$5.00. This was in consideration of the fact that both services subscribed for the Journal A.M.A. for all their hospitals. I also made the motion that in order to comply with the Red Cross treaty the badge of the Association should no longer carry the Red Cross. This was referred to a Committee and passed later, although the Secretary, Dr. Simmons, did not seem to be in favor of it. Dr. John B. Murphy was President this year, and we met his very handsome French wife at the reception given him. Gen. Chaffee, who had retired and was living in Los Angeles, was very attentive to us and had us for dinner twice at his house where we met many interesting people. After this meeting we took the night train, "The Owl," to San Francisco where I spent the best part of a week being very delightfully entertained and seeing the sights. I made the acquaintance of several famous clubs there. The Bohemian, the Pacific Union Club (which was in the old residence of the Flood family on Nob Hill), and the old Poodle Dog Cafe. My host took me upstairs to see the private dining rooms which were very elegant, and very private, as each had adjoining it a bedroom and bath. I reached Washington July 14th having stopped off a day at Jefferson Barracks where I looked into the hospital and attended a meeting of the Medical Reserve Corps Association of St. Louis at which I was asked to give a talk.

On the 5th of August there was a reception at the White House to Japanese Admiral Togo which created quite a ripple in the War Department because some smart young officer had slipped in the invitation the notice that the uniform should be full dress mounted. No one could see the appropriateness of mounted uniform for an Admiral, and as tan boots were usually worn, very few officers had black boots and dark blue riding breeches. It was said that all the full dress black boots in Wash-

143. ington were sold out and still there were not enough, so many of us took a short leave and left town.

The Maneuver Division at San Antonio was demobilized in August, having made a fine record for sanitary excellence during the period of nearly six months that it had been in being. It was especially a conclusive demonstration of the value of typhoid vaccination, only one case having occurred during the entire camp, and that in a civilian teamster who had escaped vaccination. Dr. John A. Wyeth of New York wrote a fine article to the New York Times calling attention to it and its contrast with the camps of the Spanish War. Also I wrote a little article in the Journal A.M.A. published in the issue of August 26th, 1911, comparing the record of the Maneuver Division with that of the 2nd Division VII Army Corps of which I was (for a while) Sanitary Inspector at Jacksonville. While the record of the former was one case and no deaths that of the latter, which was by no means worse than other divisions in the various camps, was 2,693 cases and 248 deaths. This little article attracted much attention both in this country and in Europe, and was the subject of an editorial in the current issue of the Journal in which it was published.

On October 7th, 1911, an order was issued to which Major Russell and I had long looked forward. It was to make compulsory typhoid vaccination for all officers and men of the Army under the age of 45. As we were responsible for this limit, we were pursued by inquiries as to why 45 years of age should be considered a critical time after which men were not in danger of having typhoid. We had to explain that in pushing the proposition for this order before the War Department, we found much opposition to it on the part of older persons who did not want to be vaccinated, although they were quite willing to have their juniors undergo this experience. On looking up the vital statistics of the matter we found that the incidence of this disease greatly diminishes as persons get older, doubtless because, being a common disease, many of them acquire immunity by having it. We figured that among the officers in the General Staff and in the

144. War Department who would have a decisive voice in the matter, practically all were over the age of 45, whereas in the line, and especially among the enlisted men, those over 45 were in a small minority, therefore the limitation of the prophylaxis to persons under 45 did very little harm from a sanitary point of view, and was very potent as a matter of good policy.

In the Spring the State Department had called on the War Department to nominate a delegate to attend an international conference on drawing up the terms of a sanitary treaty to control epidemics of the plague, cholera and yellow fever. The Surgeon General thought that my experience in Cuba fitted me for this detail, and he seemed very anxious that I should go. I hesitated long because the State Department had said that although transportation would be provided for me, no money to pay a per diem was available, and the expenses seemed quite beyond my means. I had never been to Europe, and was therefore very anxious to go, so I finally determined to borrow \$300, and sailed on the 24th of October, the date of the conference having been postponed. I went on the North German Lloyd steamer Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, a fine ship which afterwards, during the World War, became a German cruiser and was sunk off the West African coast by the British cruiser Highflyer. I was in Paris for about a month, when coming to the end of my borrowed money, I cabled asking permission to return home. All the other members of the conference, even the American delegate (Dr. Geddings from the Public Health Service) had liberal per diems, and so the conference was very deliberate in its proceedings and did not adjourn until the following January. I made many interesting acquaintances during my four weeks' stay. The Chief of the Medical Service of the French Army was General Ch. Fevrier, with whom I had already a very pleasant acquaintance formed two months before when he attended the annual meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons in Milwaukee and afterwards spent a week in Washington. He was a very large, fine looking man with a heart as big as his body was imposing. He took me to

145. Dr. Vincent at the laboratory at the Val de Grace who was at that time working on typhoid vaccination. Vincent, whose name is known in America chiefly on account of his discovery of the spirillum of Vincent's Angina, became a very famous man, and reached the grade of Lieut. General before his retirement. General Fevrier paid me many attentions, among which I valued especially several walks through old Paris which he knew by heart, being himself a Parisian. I was quite touched when (at a breakfast he gave me) he produced, with an air of triumph, a bottle of cocktails which he had purchased in New York and brought to Paris especially for this event. They were vermouth cocktails, and not very strong, but there was an abundance of good wines to make up for any shortage in that respect. Gen. Fevrier introduced me to a Major Ruotte who was on duty with a garrison at Paris, and who, he gave me to understand, was to be responsible for my amusement during my stay. I had many pleasant visits about Paris with Major Ruotte who, during the World War, became the French Chief Surgeon in Macedonia. Dr. Geddings and I were not at all pleased with the deliberate and unbusinesslike way in which the conference was run by the president, who was an Italian, named Santo Liquido. It only met in the afternoon, and only three or four afternoons in the week. I returned home on the St. Louis reaching Washington on November 30th, Thanksgiving Day, just in time for Thanksgiving dinner. Major Ireland, who met me at the station, surprised me by the information that I would start the next day for Havana as a delegate to the meeting of the American Public Health Association. As this was, in a way, a visit to old friends, I took my wife with me. We went with a big delegation by special cars to Key West where we crossed the Strait at night, arriving in Havana in the morning of December 4th. A large delegation of Cuban doctors came out to meet our boat among whom were many old friends. Dr. Guiteras informed me that Gorgas was arriving from Panama that day, and he and I would be the guests of the Republic of Cuba with rooms reserved for us at the Hotel Sevilla, and a carriage for each one during the period of our stay. I, however, never saw my room in the hotel as we were carried off by old

146. friends and stayed at our former residence in Vedado. There were so many entertainments that the Association found it difficult to find time for serious business, and it seemed to me were rather disgusted when they found that an entire afternoon was to be taken up by what the Cubans called a "solemn session" of the National Board of Health, at which Gorgas, his former assistant, Furbush, and I were seated in large arm-chairs on the platform, and were the subjects of laudatory speeches in Spanish and English for an hour or more. We returned to Washington on December 14th after a very delightful fortnight.

The Surgeon General was waiting for me with a paper from the General Staff about which he was greatly concerned, and which he had been holding for several weeks because he wanted me to make a study of it and prepare the reply. It was a proposition for the transfer of control of all the General Hospitals from the Surgeon General to the Division Commanders, as had been done under General O'Reilly's administration, and in fact at his suggestion, with regard to the General Hospital of Manila, but to lose control of the General Hospitals of the United States was another matter, and one about which the Surgeon General was prepared to fight to the last ditch. I tried to find out who was the proponent of this scheme, but none of my friends in the General Staff would acknowledge it, or tell me who started it. No reasons for the transfer were given in the paper so that it was difficult to discuss, and there was nothing to answer. I began by studying the history of the matter back to the Civil War in which I found that so many abuses had occurred in the hospitals under local commanders that control of them had been vested in the Surgeon General by an Act of Congress which had never been repealed, as far as I could find out. We had to guess at the reasons which the General Staff would give for the transfer. They wanted the right of inspection and all questions of supply to be vested in the Division Commanders. The Surgeon General stated, therefore, that he had no objection to the transfer of these functions, and we apparently guessed right, for this offer took the wind out

147. of their sails. My good friend General Liggett told me a week or two after the paper went out that it had been referred to the War College (of which he was Commandant) and he thought it was a damned outrage; also that General Wotherspoon had said it was the biggest nonsense he ever heard of. We thought, therefore, that this proposition had been settled for good, but it was not so. On February 23rd, 1912 General Wood sent for the Surgeon General and brought up the matter of the General Hospitals. He mentioned the desirability of having them inspected by the Division Inspectors as a reason for taking control of them away from the Medical Department, although I had told him, and Ireland had told him, and the Surgeon General several times that they are now under the inspection of the Division Commander; apparently his memory was not working well at this period. The matter was brought up again in March by a draft of a paper which would take away from the Surgeon General all control over the Letterman General Hospital except in medical matters. General Wood asked what I thought of it, and I replied that I thought it was wrong. He then said he would leave the matter as at present, except for supplies. General Wotherspoon told Winter at this time that he had been inclined to agree with General Wood until he read my argument, which he considered conclusive, as it left nothing to the other side. He said it showed we understood the matter much better than anyone else and should be let alone. The matter has bobbed up occasionally since, being raised by General Staff Officers who, as General Wotherspoon said, did not understand the reasons for medical control. It has, however, been always dropped after the medical side is presented.

We had put into the annual report this year a recommendation that the pay of men under treatment for venereal diseases be stopped for the time lost from duty either in the hospital or on sick leave report. This was intended as an opening wedge, but brought prompt results. Mr. Hay called me up on the 'phone and said that he would like a draft of such a provision which he would put in the appropriation bill for the Army. After talking the matter over with the Surgeon General, I went to see

148. Colonel Crowder about the wording, and found to my surprise that instead of stating what we wanted in plain words, he thought that the expression "venereal diseases" would be shocking to Congress, and proposed that the stoppage of pay should be on account of diseases caused by drugs or alcoholic intemperance or other misconduct. The true object of the legislation would be veiled under the modest phrase of "misconduct." I told him that I thought it would cause much confusion, and that he would be busy trying to construe such a law. He was insistent however, and so it went. The consequence was that the Judge Advocate General was kept busy for a year explaining that when a man got drunk and broke his leg it was not a disease caused by alcoholic intemperance. During the World War it was found that Congress was not at all afraid of having a spade called a spade. This legislation has been of great value in controlling the incidence of these diseases in the Army, and from this time began an improvement in the venereal rate.

Early in 1912 was issued the famous "Manchu" order. The Dupont resolution in the Senate which had precipitated it had reference only to line officers who had been long separated from their regiments, but in the War Department it was promptly extended to include Staff Officers who had been more than four years in Washington. On January 13th the Chief of Staff sent orders to the various departments in the War Department that all officers who had been in Washington more than four years should be ordered away. This would take McCaw, Ireland, and Russell from the Surgeon General's office, and Straub from the General Staff. All of them would go to Manila. Lynch, Delaney, and Darnall also came under it. The Surgeon General made a fight for his "specialists" like McCaw for the Library, Russell for the Laboratory and preventive medicine, and Darnall, who, besides his duties at the school, had become an expert on field supplies and the chemical purification of water with chlorine. The Surgeon General had me prepare a little memorandum on the subject of "specialists" showing that the men in the Medical Department who had made great scientific accomplishments

149.(except Beaumont) had been in Washington much longer than four years, and would probably not have been able to perform their work if their tours had been cut short. We took the little memorandum to a hearing which the Secretary gave us, and it seemed to make an impression. He agreed to make an exception of the three above mentioned, and, as to Lynch, who had been our specialist on Red Cross organization, he said he would consult the President.

In February a long list was published of the line officers on special duties of every sort who had not been on duty with troops for more than four years. These were in addition to those who had been more than four years in Washington. Some clever man at the Army and Navy Club nicknamed them "Manchus" because of the Manchu dynasty which had been recently driven out of China, and he said that these were the ruling class of the Army. The Surgeon General was not able to keep his "specialists" however indefinitely. During the course of the next year they were all sent away. McCaw was glad to go, as most of his old companions were in the Philippines. Russell, however, was deeply engaged in the study of improvements in the typhoid prophylaxis and other questions in preventive medicine, and it was felt to be a great pity that he should be separated from his laboratory and sent to Panama where he was placed on duty with the troops, and for several years did no laboratory work at all.

There was much friction and discontent in the War Department at this time because the policy of the Chief of Staff was to prevent the access of the Bureau Chiefs to the Secretary of War, and decisions were made about matters in which they were deeply interested without good reasons, or an opportunity for them to be given a hearing. Also, the members of the General Staff on duty with the Chief of Staff constantly meddled with questions on administration, which were not part of their business, and about which they knew very little. The law which forbade their interfering in the administrative details of the Departments was completely ignored. An example which came up at this time and stirred the indignation of the Surgeon General's Office was one

150. about the retirement of a young officer who had become entirely incapacitated for duty on account of syphilis. The Board in this case was composed of three General Officers and two of our most brilliant medical officers, McCaw and Russell. They came to an unanimous finding in this highly technical case, but it was turned over to a young captain of infantry, recently detailed to the General Staff, to review and advise the Chief of Staff as to the action to be taken. Another case which interested both the Quartermaster General and the Surgeon General was that of the adoption of the Munson shoe. This had been the subject of long investigation by a very capable Board whose findings were reviewed and approved both by the Surgeon General and the Quartermaster General. When it went down for the approval of the Chief of Staff it was held so long that I was sent down to see what had become of it. I found it in the hands of a young captain of infantry, Malone (now Major General Paul B. Malone), and could not forbear asking him what additional weight his opinion would give to that of the Board, the Surgeon General, and the Quartermaster General. There was great rejoicing in the Departments, therefore, when the Secretary on Feb. 19 sent for the Bureau Chiefs, and explained to them that he had found that access to him was too much cut off, and he desired that at all times the Bureau Chiefs should feel that they could bring to his attention any matter that they thought of importance. He said that he had not invited the Chief of Staff to this meeting because he wished to have a free expression of opinions. The Assistant Secretary of War, General Oliver, then remarked that in the last two years he had been entirely left out in the transaction of the business which had been assigned to him by the order of April, 1906.

About this time I was requested by Dr. Stedman, editor of the Reference Handbook of Medical Sciences to write for the new edition an article on the Medical Department of the U.S. Army, which would replace several articles in the old edition. This grew to be quite an elaborate article covering, as I remember, about eight of the two-column pages of this work, which was at that time in every medical library.

151. On April 15th, official Washington and the country generally were shocked by the news of the sinking of the world's largest steamship, the Titanic, a new ship of the White Star Line which ripped out her bottom in a collision with an iceberg off the Newfoundland banks. Among those lost was Major Archie Butt, the President's aide and a very popular Army officer whom I had known well during the Second Intervention in Cuba. With him was Millet the painter, who was also well known and beloved by the Army colony as he spent much of his time at the Army and Navy Club.

The annual flood in the Mississippi River this year was the highest ever on record and caused widespread inundations of its lower valley from Kentucky to the sea. Many thousands of refugees from the country and small towns were gathered into refugee camps under the care of the Red Cross. General Davis, who was at this time Chairman of the Red Cross Executive Committee, applied to the War Department for me to make a sanitary survey of these camps, and I was accordingly sent to do so by the Secretary with the understanding that all my expenses should be borne by the Red Cross. I was furnished an autographed letter from the Secretary to all engineer officers to give me transportation and other facilities, and letters of introduction to the Governors of the states involved in the inundation. Leaving Washington on April 20 I went to Hickman, Kentucky, where was the most northern camp, and descended the river visiting the camps on either side, making sanitary suggestions and relieving the more urgent necessities of the camps. For this purpose I had been furnished with a checkbook and a fund of \$1,000 which was to be added to as the needs of the situation required. It was a great pleasure to be able to relieve the destitution of these poor people, many of whom had escaped without anything except the clothing on their backs. The authorities in charge of the camps were naturally glad to see me under these conditions, and seemed very willing to carry out my sanitary recommendations, which I usually made in writing and tried to make as little burdensome and simple as possible. The southern end of my journey was New Orleans from which point I returned to Washington on May 9, having been 19 days on this interesting trip in which there were many curious and some thrilling incidents.

152. The International Red Cross Conference in Washington was in full swing on my arrival, but there was too much accumulated work in the office for me to attend these meetings.

Lieut. Colonel Merritte W. Ireland left Washington for San Francisco on Monday, May 13, 1912. We had been intimately associated on duty in the Surgeon General's office for ten years. He, from being a youngster in the office, had developed into an administrator of great ability. His force of character and quickness of judgment, and his extraordinary memory for people and judgment of their characters, made him a person of great popularity and influence in the War Department, while in the Surgeon General's office we had all learned to lean on him.

When I succeeded Charles Mason in the spring of 1909 in the office as Chief of the Sanitary Department, he had made a start in the study of the prevention of venereal diseases, but had not had time to make any great progress in the matter. I took it up where he had left it off, and had been authorized by the Surgeon General to interest the surgeons of the more important posts in the matter of prophylaxis. The medical officers were urged to talk over the matter with the commanding officers and get their approval and assistance in various schemes of prevention which were tried out at different posts. General Wood supported us when he became the Chief of Staff, and the final result was General Order 17 of May 31, 1912, approving the scheme which has since been in use. This order is in very general terms, but it was to be followed up by a circular letter from the Surgeon General's office to medical officers giving all details of the procedure. When the time came for this circular to be promulgated, we were amazed that General Wood refused to authorize its publication. He was apparently afraid that it would shock all the old maids in the country and stir up the pious people who believed that the best way to treat this plague of humanity was not to recognize its existence. The instructions were, therefore, sent out by the Adjutant General marked "confidential." The result was that some commanding officers would not turn them over to the Surgeons, but sent for medical officers to come to the office and

153. read them in secret. As Public Health Officers throughout the country were interested in this experiment and we had often discussed it with them at meetings of the American Public Health Association, applications for copies of these instructions began to come in to the Surgeon General's office. The Chief of Staff, finding out that what we were doing excited no criticisms, but, on the part of those whose opinion was valuable, hearty approval, finally agreed to the publication of the Surgeon General's circular.

On June 19 the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, sent for me and handed me a telegram announcing an outbreak of plague at San Juan, Puerto Rico. There had been already 12 recognized cases with five deaths in this city. He said that he wished me to go to San Juan and investigate the matter so that he could be advised what action should be taken, and that he wanted the matter kept strictly secret, except, of course, in the Surgeon General's office. I told him that no study of a plague situation could be made which was of any value without a laboratory, and asked to take down Major Russell with one of our portable field laboratories. He said talk it over with the Surgeon General and take whom you want and what you want. General Torney gave me at once all facilities, and so Russell took an assistant, Lieut. Foucar, and a sergeant to look after the laboratory, and we all sailed from New York on the Carolina, June 21st. Our protection against the plague consisted of a supply of long drawers and high canvas shoes. My previous tropical experience had taught me the comfort of high canvas shoes as a protection against mosquitoes, and I thought they would be equally useful against the plague fleas. We carried also a stock of books on plague, and especially on rats. In the six days of our pleasant voyage I became, as far as book knowledge was concerned, a rat expert. Dr. Creel of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service was a fellow passenger, bound also for Puerto Rico to assist in the plague campaign, he having had valuable experience in the San Francisco outbreak. We landed in San Juan on the morning of June 27, my 52nd birthday, and were taken to the Governor's Palace where we were guests during our stay. He was absent in the United States, but we were well cared

154. for by his secretary, Mr. Drew Carrel, who was Acting Governor, and who was not only a cordial host, but an energetic supporter of all measures which we recommended. There was much panic among the population, and although much had been done, very little had been accomplished. Rat poisons had been liberally distributed, and the dead rats promptly burned, but no spot map had been made showing where the rats were found, and there had been no rat autopsies to decide whether they were dead of plague or poison. Russell's first step was to set up his laboratory, and an order was published forbidding the further burning of rats. The dead rats found were ordered to be brought to Russell's laboratory with a tag on each showing just where it had been found. We found that there were not a hundred rat traps in San Juan, and nothing had been done to secure additional traps, therefore we cabled immediately for 1,500 cage traps and 1,500 snap traps. Also we urged the completion of the sanitary fence across the narrow peninsula connecting San Juan with the mainland. This fence, which we had asked the Secretary of War to order before I left Washington, was of corrugated iron 6 ft. high, from bay to ocean, a distance of not over 100 yards. It had two openings, one for the road and another for the railroad. Over each of these was a brilliant electric light which burned all night, and a sentry was posted at each opening. These sentries reported that rats frequently came up in the night, but turned back when they found the way of escape was closed. The delay in completing this fence seemed to me inexcusable as it was the only protection for the rest of the island against the infection, and if the rats, which abounded in the cane fields, once became infected, it was probable, as I told the Sanitary Council which was organized in San Juan, that our generation would not see the infection stamped out. Some infected rats which escaped before the completion of the fence, or in packages shipped by rail, started one or two small foci of infection. These, however, we were able to stamp out before the field rats became infected. The P.H. and M.H. Service was exceedingly anxious to take charge of the plague campaign, and had an appropriation from which they could draw the necessary funds. If, however, this work was undertaken by the Army, or by the local sanitary authorities, funds

155. would have to be provided for this purpose, and it would probably be not as well done. I, therefore, cabled to the Secretary recommending that the work be turned over, and this was done after two weeks' preliminary work during which we had, with the cooperation of Dr. Creel and Dr. Grubbs, the Quarantine Officer, organized and set in operation all the machinery for a plague campaign. Russell turned over his laboratory complete with all its equipment including microscopes to Dr. Creel, and also what was of more value, a complete spot map of San Juan showing all the infected localities. I was interested to observe when the annual report of the Public Health Service appeared no credit was given us for initiating the campaign, or even any thanks to Russell for his admirable work, or the field laboratory which was turned over to them. On my return I reported to the Secretary who asked me if I thought there was any danger that plague would invade the United States. When I said yes he asked the reasons, and my reply was that since 1898 bubonic plague had invaded the Western Hemisphere and spread over practically the whole world. There was no reason why it should not invade the United States, especially as there had been no extermination of rats on the ships plying between Puerto Rico and the United States. I also observed that the rat guards on the S.S. San Juan, on which we returned home, were so defective that I thrust my hand between the rat guard and the hawser mooring the ship to the dock. He repeated my statement at the next Cabinet meeting, and the next day thereafter the Surgeon General received an order from him to send me to see Mr. MacVeagh, the Secretary of the Treasury with the copy of the report I had given Mr. Stimson. I had a very pleasant interview with him and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Allen, and explained that I was most unwilling to be put in the position of a critic of the P.H. and M.H. Service with which I had had difficulties when Health Officer of Cuba. He said that he appreciated this, but the most important thing was to prevent plague from getting a foothold in the United States. A few months later it broke out in New Orleans where the P.H. and M.H. Service did a fine piece of work in its extermination.

September was a month of meetings. On the 18th the American Public Health

156. Association met in Washington, and on Monday the 23rd met the XV International Congress of Hygiene and Demography. This brought together a very distinguished group of men from all over the world. Unfortunately a rain began on Sunday the 22nd and lasted the entire week of the Congress. My friend General Fevrier was one of the delegates from France. He came also to attend the meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons which was held in Baltimore on September 30th. I made also a very pleasant acquaintance with Colonel Mellis of the Belgium Army who was the family physician at the Belgium Court. As he had married an English woman he spoke English perfectly, as did his very attractive daughter who accompanied him. President Taft opened the Congress with a charming address in which he said that the Chief Sanitary Officer of the Isthmus of Panama should receive from the Government a reward equal to that which the Chief Engineer should receive. This sentiment was heartily applauded. Just before the meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons the Surgeon General sent for the Secretary, Major Lynch, and told him that he wanted him to resign at the meeting. The reason for this was, as I understood it, that he was anxious to detach Lynch from his engagements in Washington so that he could go to the Philippines. The British delegate was Colonel S. Hickson who was in command of the Cambridge Military Hospital at Aldershot. He was very jolly and made a pleasant impression. The Treasurer of the Association, Major Arnold, reported the finances were in bad condition. Major Lynch was succeeded as Secretary by Major S.E. Stanton of the Ill. Nat. Guard, who lived in Chicago, who, of course, took the office of the Secretary out there. This selection was made possible by the vote of the Army representative on the Nominating Committee, and a colonel who disregarded the wish of the Surgeon General that Col. Havard be made Secretary.

On October 9, 1912 a report came into the office from Major Chas. E. Woodruff, M.C. Sanitary Inspector of the Western Division who had for some time been putting out a theory that typhoid vaccination activated latent tuberculosis. He reported an epidemic of pulmonary tuberculosis in the garrison at Vancouver Barracks and attributed it to typhoid vaccination. The Surgeon General asked that Colonel Bushnell, with his admirable training in this disease, to examine the cases, and the epidemic disappeared. Woodruff was relieved as Sanitary Inspector at the request of the Commanding General of the Division

157. and went on sick report with chronic neuritis. He had also about this time a hemorrhage in the retina. He was given a long sick leave and afterwards retired.

In November General Wood offered to send me as military observer to the Balkan War which had broken out between Turkey and the neighboring Balkan States during this summer. I begged to be excused on account of my poverty, telling him that I was still in debt for the money I borrowed to go to the international conference at Paris the year before.

On November 3rd died General Robert Maitland O'Reilly, a man who was beloved by a host of friends, and especially by his assistants who had served under him. McCaw, Ireland, and myself, whom he had brought to Washington as his assistants in 1902, and who served under him until his retirement in 1909, loved him almost like a father. The Medical Corps of the Army was indebted to him for immense advances in its efficiency and its standing in the War Department. Among his benefactions should be stated the Act of 1908 organizing the Medical Department and establishing the Reserve Corps; the creation of a reserve of medical supplies for war which were held in separate depots from current supplies; the treatment of sick officers in General Hospitals as a routine measure; the establishment of typhoid vaccination; and the founding of Walter Reed General Hospital. A careful statement of his accomplishments in putting the Corps on a footing of preparedness for war may be found at the end of the annual report of the Surgeon General for 1908 which he had me write when I came up to Washington in September for the International Congress of Tuberculosis and for my examination for promotion.

As General Torney's detail as Surgeon General expired at the end of the year, the question of his reappointment came up early in December. It was inevitable that with it should come up the question of my being considered as his successor since President Taft had, both while Secretary of War and since he became President, on several occasions stated his intention to give me the next appointment. None of these statements had been made to me as the question had never been brought up be-

158. tween us, but it had been made to my friends, and of course he must have known that it was inevitable that they should be repeated to me. General Torney, when he selected me to come into his office in the spring of 1909 was of course well aware that at the time of his appointment the choice lay between him and me. The question of my candidacy in the future had been discussed between us not long after I came into the S.G.O., before he went to Europe in the summer of 1909. He said that in his opinion the Surgeon Generalcy was a legitimate object of ambition for every officer in the Medical Corps, and that this right applied to his assistants as well as others. The only limitation which he desired me to make as a candidate was that I should not make his office the base of an active campaign against him. This very reasonable and obvious request I had taken care to comply with, and to restrain the activities of my friends in the matter. General Torney sent in his application for reappointment probably about the 1st of December. I do not know the date since he did not mention the matter to me until after a week or two he heard nothing of it and began to get uneasy. On December 17 the Chief of Staff sent for me about some routine matter. He had been accustomed to make me the channel for the transaction of business with the Surgeon General since the beginning of the open warfare between General Ainsworth and himself, at which time General Torney had taken sides openly with General Ainsworth contrary to the advice of his assistants, who wished him to remain neutral. General Wood then changed the subject and said that General Torney had put in an application for reappointment but that he had held it up, and did not intend to approve it, but wished for my appointment. He then asked what I was doing in the matter, and I said nothing at all. He then directed me not to say anything about the conversation to General Torney. I was much troubled at the position in which I was placed and so early next morning went in to see the Assistant Secretary of War, General Oliver, to ask him what I should do in the very embarrassing situation in which I

159. found myself. He urged me to go at once to see the President and ask what were his intentions. I asked if I should not speak to my Chief, General Torney, first. He said no, that it was my private affair. I walked, therefore, from his office directly over to the White House, and after a little while saw Mr. Taft, and without saying anything about my conversation with the Chief of Staff, said that the question of the Surgeon Generalcy had come up, and he had himself made me a candidate by saying to my friends at various times that he had intended to appoint me. He asked what would become of General Torney if I were appointed. I said that he was over 62 and eligible for retirement, also that he would not be able to serve out another tour. He seemed surprised and said that in that case he would speak to the Secretary about it. He asked if I knew any members of the Military Committee of the Senate so that my confirmation would be secure. I said that I knew one or two, but that I had never spoken to any Senator on the subject, but did not anticipate any trouble. He then asked about General Gorgas. I replied that General Gorgas and General Goethals had done their work at Panama outside of the sphere of activities of the Army and that it was the business of Congress to reward them both, which it would undoubtedly do. He again said that he would take it up with the Secretary, and I thanked him and withdrew. I did not, however, feel entirely comfortable in my mind about keeping the matter secret from General Torney, although I felt that I had stayed within the boundary of my rights under our understanding. I went, therefore, to Colonel Winter who was my dearest friend in the office, and on whose honorable and loyal spirit I was sure I could depend. He advised me to disobey the Chief of Staff's injunction of secrecy and go immediately to General Torney with the story. This I did at once. General Torney was much upset, and though he said he had no blame for me in the matter, he was very bitter against General Wood, and said that he would at once send to see the President a friend who was a much bigger man than the Chief of Staff. He also took measures to find out whether his

160. application for reappointment had reached the President. Having found that it had not, he went to see the Secretary of War who said that he had never seen it. He also complained to the Secretary that General Wood was encouraging his assistant to compete with him. The Secretary probably asked General Wood about it, for he then sent for the Surgeon General and me and proceeded to discuss the whole matter. General Torney was very angry and aggressive in this interview, and had decidedly the advantage of it. When we returned to his office I told General Torney that if he felt that this occurrence had in any way altered or impaired our relations, I hoped that he would give me a change of station. He said that he felt that I had treated him with fairness, and there was no reason for my leaving the office, but on the contrary he wanted me to remain. The next day he called in all the office force and we went over the whole matter together. General Torney's nomination was sent to the Senate by the President a few days later, but the Senate was quite slow in taking it up. General Torney was very uneasy on this account, especially as some one had told him if his detail expired before his confirmation, he would be out of the service. I offered my assistance in the matter which he seemed pleased to get, and obtained a promise from a Senator who was an old friend of mine that he would take the matter up. He did so, and General Torney was duly confirmed, although not until the 11th of January, 1913, when it had an extra session and the appointments of General Torney as Surgeon General, and General Aleshire as Quartermaster General, were confirmed. A week later the New York Tribune published an article on the subject which was in the main accurate, but which was very bitter against General Wood, and although no attack was made on me, it did not do me entire justice because it did not show that General Torney had received his information in the matter from me. The article was signed with the initials of a Washington correspondent. I met him not long afterwards, and asked him if he

161. knew accurately what my part in the matter had been. He said he did, but that it was not well for a newspaper man to show too accurate a knowledge of the details because it would show the source of his information.

General Torney was as good as his word and this episode made no difference in our relations either personal or official. General Wood reproached me mildly for having disobeyed his injunction to keep our conversation secret, and asked me why I did it. I replied that General Torney was my chief, and I thought it was my duty to do it. He said that it had made a troublesome situation for him, but never afterwards alluded to it.

1913

My four years' tour in the Surgeon General's office expired on February 23, 1913, and the Surgeon General, under instructions from the Chief of Staff, was obligated to report the fact in advance so that the necessary orders could be issued. He resented this order so much that he was inclined not to do it until persuaded by Winter and myself to make the report. In doing so he pointed out that I had been three months and nine days absent from the office on detached service during my four years, and that my tour should be extended to that extent. This recommendation was approved, which extended my date of relief to June.

In March 1913 a very interesting inspection trip came to me. On March 12 General Wood sent for me and told me that he wished me to go to Galveston without delay to make a study of the camp site and sanitary conditions in the camp of the 2nd Division under General Carter, which was concentrated there during the last week in February. It appears that there was a difference of opinion between General Wood and General Carter as to the suitability of the camp site, which was on low marshy ground. I was met by Major Hartsock, the senior medical officer of Smith's brigade, which was camped on Galveston Island. The division camp was at Texas City, 17 miles away, where I arrived at noon. The soldiers were busy digging deep ditches to drain the camp site. It was, however, far from being a

162. good one, being a salt marsh over which was scattered countless little circular elevations six or eight feet above the general level, and only thirty or forty feet in diameter. What the cause of these singular little hillocks was no one seems to know. There were too many of them to have been made by Indians. I found the Medical Department excellently well organized, and General Carter who was proud of the health record of the Maneuver Division at San Antonio, was disposed to assist them in every way. There were as yet no flies or mosquitoes, but it seemed probable that there would be an abundance of both when the warm weather came. I went to the office of the Weather Bureau observer in Galveston, and made a study of the prevailing winds and the rainfall for each month so as to make an estimate of the prevalence of mosquitoes during the summer months. My return to Washington was on March 26th. General Wood did not seem to be entirely satisfied with the conclusions in my report which was that though the camp was not well located, the health of the troops could be preserved there as long as all sanitary precautions were taken. It was predicted, however, that they would suffer greatly from mosquitoes during the summer, and in the event of a storm from the east, the camp would be flooded, and there would be serious danger of loss of life and destruction of property. General Wood preferred an absolute condemnation from a sanitary point of view which would have justified him in ordering General Carter to move the camp at once. The after history of this camp justified my predictions. The health remained good, mosquitoes were very bad, but they managed to protect themselves fairly well with mosquito nets, except the horses, who suffered greatly. Finally, during the summer, a great storm came from the east. The camp was flooded and had to be abandoned with great loss of property, but no loss of life. I found official Washington very much wrought up over the floods in the Ohio Valley, especially at Dayton and Columbus, Ohio. General Wood and the Secretary left the day I reported to him for Dayton. He asked me if I wished to go along and take

163. charge of the medical relief. I suggested, however, that he ask the Surgeon General to assign an officer for that duty as I did not wish to go. Fauntleroy was appointed and reported for duty with the Governor of Ohio at Columbus. Major Rhoads, the Attending Surgeon at the White House, accompanied the party, and was left behind when they returned, in charge of sanitary matters at Dayton.

On the afternoon of Sunday, April 6th, I attended with Mrs. Kean a very remarkable play at the new National Theatre. It was by Brieux and called "Damaged Goods" (Les Avaries). It was given by the Society of Social Hygiene, admission being by invitation only, and as I recall there was no charge for tickets. The theatre was entirely full, every seat being taken, with a very distinguished audience. The play was very well given by a French troupe, and was a rather painful tragedy. The plot turned on the ignorance of people in general, and women in particular, of venereal diseases. The heroine married a man with syphilis, became infected and had an infected baby. The conclusion was, of course, that there should be no conspicuous silence about these diseases, but that all well-informed people should know about them, and take proper precaution with regard to them so that they could be suppressed like other contagious diseases.

The changes of personnel in the S.G.O. and all medical officers in Washington were so extensive under the Manchu law that they could not all be carried out at once without disrupting the S.G.O., and especially the Army Medical School, almost all the faculty of which would have to leave. Before my time in Washington expired I took a leave which would carry me over until September, because the Surgeon General wished me to look over the annual report which Love was preparing. I, therefore, was out of town most of June and July. About the 1st of July General Wood had sent for General Torney and told him that the Manchu policy was to be rigidly enforced thereafter, both for the staff and line, and that Walter Reed Hospital, the Soldiers' Home, and Fort Myer were to count as service in Washington. He said that the following officers were to be relieved: Birmingham, Reynolds, Rhoads, Wm. B. Davis, Craig, Russell, and Darnall. The two latter were to stay awhile

164. until their substitutes could be trained. He excepted McCaw from the list because he said that his detail should be permanent on condition that he would be out of the line of selection for any other duty, or for assignment in case of war. Colonel McCaw went to see General Wood and told him he was unwilling to accept such a condition. He remarked that all of his friends were leaving Washington and he thought that he would like to go too so his name was added to the list as was that of Winter, who had the supply desk in the S.G.O. His place was filled by Lt. Col. Henry D. Snyder, Ireland's by Gandy, mine by Wm. Lyster, and Major Robert U. Patterson came to take the place of Major Chas. Lynch with the Red Cross. Howard took DeLaney's place as Attending Surgeon.

I came back from leave about the 20th of August to clean up odds and ends of work in the office and go over the annual report. It occurred to me that it might be well to see that my military record was in order before I left Washington, so I sent for the record as kept at that time in the Surgeon General's office. It was the usual sterile collection of official orders which gave not a hint of a man's really important work and accomplishments. I therefore made out a little list of the things that I wished my report to show that I had initiated or had had a hand in, and wrote to the officers under whom I had served in connection with them for letters covering these special activities so that they could be filed with my record. These were:

1. That in the Spanish War I was the only medical officer of my grade, captain, who became Chief Surgeon of an Army Corps.
2. The part I had in the work of the regeneration of Cuba, 1898-1902. General Wood gave me a fine letter covering my service under him as Superintendent of Beneficencia. I also made reference with regard to this and the fight against yellow fever in Mr. Root's last report as Secretary of War in 1902.
3. The reorganization of the Supply Department of the Medical Department,

165. and the establishment of field medical supply depots.

4. The reorganization of the Medical Corps, and the creation of the Medical Reserve Corps. With this was filed a fine letter from General Ainsworth.

5. The organization of the Sanitary Department in Cuba, and the warfare against yellow fever in the Second Intervention. (See annual report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, 1909, pp. 97, 98, and 99.)

6. The organization of the Sanitary Department of Puerto Rico.

Ex-President Taft also, on the suggestion of General Crowder, wrote a fine letter about my service under him as Secretary and President, which he sent to the War Department, sending me a copy. This letter, as well as one from General Ireland, I will attach as an appendix at the end of this sketch. [This has not been found in the Kean Papers]

General Torney, whose kindness and consideration for me lasted to the end of his life, was anxious to give me what he considered the best station in the Army, one which he had had just before he became Surgeon General, in command of the Letterman General Hospital at San Francisco. I told him, however, that I had been so long absent from troops that I would like to serve as a Post Surgeon, and suggested that he send me to Fort Leavenworth, about the medical service of which there had been much complaint. It behooved the Medical Department to have a good service there because over 100 selected officers of the Army were there every year at the school, and complaints against the Medical Department had been scattered from this center all over the Army. General Torney evidently thought I was a little cracked, but said, "All right, Kean, go there if you want to, but you are making a great mistake." I never saw him again after this parting, as he died on December 27th of that year, 1913. He was buried not at Arlington, but at West Point. He was a man with many attractive qualities, and very popular both in his own Corps and with the line of the Army. He had an ardent and impetuous disposition which made him do many things on impulse which he afterwards regretted. His loyalty to his friends, whether right or wrong, was also a loveable quality which was

166. unfortunate in a Surgeon General because it involved him in official controversies in which he was not always right. General Gorgas, who was then in South Africa, was immediately appointed to succeed him.

After my household goods were all packed and turned over to the Quartermaster, I left Washington on September 4th, 1913, but took a leave of about three weeks in order to let my baggage arrive at Leavenworth before me. This time I spent in a series of delightful visits in Virginia. On reporting at Leavenworth on the 6th of October, I found, to my disgust, that my furniture had not arrived, and on telegraphing to the Quartermaster General found that the clerk who had charge of it had made out the Bills of Lading, locked them in his desk, and gone off on a month's leave so that the shipment had not left Washington. They were immediately shipped by fast freight and arrived on October 20th, but in the meanwhile I and my family had to camp out in the large house which had been for many years the Surgeon's quarters at Fort Leavenworth. There was plenty of work awaiting me at Leavenworth. My predecessor was an elderly man who had been awaiting retirement and had taken little interest in the hospital, which was an extraordinary collection of rambling structures built at different times. The detachment H.C. [Hospital Corps] was composed largely of recruits and was quite inefficient, as the condition of the hospital showed. Also, the medical service for the school was most unsatisfactory. There were likewise many sanitary defects to be corrected. I pitched into this work heart and soul and soon had the pleasure of seeing things improve. There was no place in the hospital where women and children could be cared for, so with the permission of the Surgeon General, a new detached building intended for contagious diseases was made into a ward for women and children, and four nurses were secured for this service. This was, of all the changes, that which gave the greatest comfort and satisfaction to the more than 100 families at the post, and this service was also extended to the families of officers on duty at the military prison on the adjoining reservation. My happiness in this work was only marred by the

167. illness of my young son, age 13, who came down before my furniture was unpacked with a very extensive osteomyelitis which involved the shaft of the right tibia down to the ankle joint, and the hip joint which latter was entirely destroyed. The septic fever resulting from this widespread destruction of bone caused much suffering for more than a year, and a number of severe operations. The child would certainly have lost his life but for the skill of Dr. J.F. Binnie of Kansas City, a surgeon of national reputation, and author of a well known textbook on surgery. He organized the Base Hospital at Kansas City, and as Lieut. Colonel, M.C., did fine service in France in command of his hospital, and later as a Corps Consultant in surgery until he was disabled by a stroke of apoplexy soon after the Armistice. In spite of his large practice, and the fact that each visit from Kansas City to Leavenworth consumed a day, he was constant in his attentions to this little patient until his recovery.

Before leaving Washington I had agreed to prepare for General Torney a paper which he was to read at the second annual meeting of the Association of State Examining Boards of the United States at Chicago in the following February. The proposition which he was to advance was one in which we had been long interested, which was that the examinations of the Reserve Corps of the Army and Navy should be so standardized that they would be satisfactory to the State Examining Boards, and that a Medical Reserve Corps commission would accordingly entitle the bearer to practice medicine in every state accepting this arrangement. Most of the states already had a provision excepting commissioned officers of the Army, Navy, and Public Health Service from examination for the right to practice, and so the idea would be familiar to them. In this way the medical education of the entire profession could be standardized. It was proposed to conduct these examinations in the larger cities by Boards on which the three Government Services and the American Medical Association would be represented. When his health began to fail, General Torney wrote to me that he would be unable

168. to attend the meeting in Chicago, requesting that I go and read the paper, which I did. Dr. W.L. Rodman of Philadelphia, who was himself a Reserve Corps Officer, became greatly interested in this proposition, and made a fine speech in support of it at the meeting in February. The next year he became President of the American Medical Association, and made this subject his main policy while President. Such a proposition naturally created much opposition. Although the general purpose was favored generally, there was much opposition to giving a national examination a military character, or military supervision. It finally resulted in the creation of the present National Board of Medical Examiners, the Reserve Corps feature, in which I was especially interested, being entirely omitted, although its graduates were accepted for admission to the Medical Corps. My paper had the title, "The Use of Government Medical Services in Standardizing Medical Education in the United States," an abstract of which was published in the Journal A.M.A., Vol. LXII, No. 10, March 7, 1914, p. 804.

On April 22, 1914, I received a telegram from Frick at San Francisco telling me of the death of Col. D.M. Appel which gave me my promotion to colonel. Next day came a telegraph order from the War Department directing me to report to the Surgeon General for consultation. On arrival in Washington on Sunday the 26th I heard to my surprise and delight that I had been selected to be Chief Surgeon of the First Field Army under General Leonard Wood, which was being organized to invade Mexico via Vera Cruz. As war had not been declared, although it seemed inevitable, the organization of this Army was being done as quietly as possible, but units of staff officers were being selected and arrangements made for the mobilization of two Regular infantry divisions and one division of cavalry. I found that only one field hospital and one ambulance co. were available for each infantry div. and none for the cavalry div., so that two field hospitals and two amb. co. had to be authorized and assembled for each infantry div. and one of each for the cavalry div. Also the hospitals for the lines of communi-

169. cation and for the Base at Vera Cruz had to be created. I found that the personnel division did not work with the expedition to which we had been accustomed when Ireland had been in charge, and it took a week's talk to get even the letters written asking for authority to create the units. After this was received the officers to command the units had to be extracted one by one, like pulling teeth. General Gorgas asked me to go with him to New York where he was to be given a medal. He wished to talk over plans for the mobilization, and also for me to use my influence with Birmingham, who had declined to accept appointment as Chief Surgeon of the base at Vera Cruz if a junior were made Chief Surgeon of the First Army. Colonel Phillips also declined to serve under this condition. I was able to show Birmingham that at the Base he would not be under me, but under the Surgeon General, and that I would not send in any orders but only requisitions and requests. When the World War came we paid little or no attention to these fine points of rank, which had seemed to us important in former wars to even our best men. When Bradley, and then Ireland, became Chief Surgeon in France, we all served under them loyally and gladly. The only grievance of the Colonels in the United States was when they were not allowed to go to France to do so. I went to see, at Walter Reed, Fisher who was to be the Sanitary Inspector, Halloran, who would have a field hospital, and Wickline, who would have Ambulance Co. No.5.

On May 11th I was called back to Leavenworth by the fifth operation on my son, which was the most extensive and severe, and in which he came near dying on the table. It was arranged that Fisher would carry on the organization of the medical units, and that I would meet General Wood at Galveston. The organization went on slowly during May and June, but war was never declared, and the troops, who had already captured Vera Cruz, were withdrawn towards the end of September. Birmingham got down there, but as General Wood did not go, I had no opportunity to go either.

170. In July I was advised by Dr. Binnie to take my son out of Leavenworth where the heat was very oppressive. We took him accordingly to Yellowstone Park where I was able to get the use of a vacant set of officers' quarters, the park being at that time patrolled by a cavalry detachment, and under the command of a medical officer who was later General Fries. Here he improved sufficiently so that during the last week in July we took a trip lasting six days around the park, in a spring wagon, the team loaned me by General Fries. When we returned from this interesting and delightful trip on August 3rd, it was to find that the great war had broken out and the world was in arms.

On September 26 I went to Cincinnati to attend the annual meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons, of which I was First Vice President. General Gorgas came over to the meeting of the Executive Council. We had a very interesting and agreeable meeting, although the condition of the Association seemed to be far from satisfactory under its new Secretary and its old Treasurer. I presided at the meetings because the President, Brig. Gen. Charles Adams, III. Nat. Gd., Rtd., was abroad on a trip around the world. During our last meeting I was surprised to see the venerable figure of General J. Warren Keifer, with his snow white hair and beard, come into the room and take a seat. He listened patiently and attentively to all the papers, and when the meeting adjourned and I was able to go up and speak to him, said he had come not only to see me, but to take me up to Springfield for a visit with him. General Keifer, it may be recalled by those who have had the courage and patience to read this sketch, was the Major General commanding the First Div. of the VII Army Corps on whose staff I went from Savannah to Havana. I had a delightful visit of a couple of days at Springfield. This fine old man who carried on his body scars of wounds received during the Civil War lived to be 96 years of age, and died in 1932.

During the winter of 1914-15 I had much correspondence with Dr. W.L. Rodman, President of the Amer. Med. Assn., and Major Noble, Executive Officer in

171. the Surgeon General's office, about the proposition of the proposed Board of National Examiners. The Surgeon Generals of the Navy and Public Health and M.H. Service, were not enthusiastic about the plan, probably on account of the Reserve Corps feature which they perhaps regarded as a scheme to aggrandize the importance of the Army Medical Service. Dr. Rodman's enthusiasm, however, was unabated and finally, as I have already stated, carried the schemes through but minus the Reserve Corps feature.

The protection of the Army against typhoid fever produced by typhoid vaccination was demonstrated in the report of the Surgeon General which was received in November. This showed no cases of typhoid fever in immunized men in the United States, and only one in the Army. This man was serving in China.

On December 13, 1914, Dr. Binnie came up to perform the sixth operation under ether on my poor little son, removing a large amount of dead bone from the right tibia, and all of the inner posterior part of the middle third of the shank of the bone.

Being President this year of the Association of Military Surgeons, I tried to keep track of its affairs, but found it very difficult to do so being at Fort Leavenworth, while the Secretary and office of publication was at Chicago. During May as the affairs of the Association were going badly, and there was considerable complaint (on the part of the Treasurer) of the unbusinesslike management of affairs in the Secretary's office. I wrote to the Secretary to inquire why he published 2,100 copies of The Military Surgeon when its membership was only about 1,000 on paper. It was afterwards found out that many of these were delinquent for several years, and should have been dropped from the roll. In reply he did not go into the matter any further than to send me a copy of his mailing list. On checking this up and comparing the addresses of Army members as given by the Army station list, I found that of 268 addresses checked with

172. the station list, 153, or 57%, were wrong, and 113, or 43%, were right. Many were going to both the old and the new address, and quite a number were going to members who had died. One was going to the Commanding General of the Army, an office which had been non-existent for a number of years. There had been many complaints about non-receipt of the Military Surgeon, few of which had apparently been given any attention. The Executive Council met in Washington on May 25, at which meeting I was not able to be present. They determined to have the meeting September 16-18 in Washington, and also resolved that in view of the financial condition of the Association, the Secretary-Editor be not paid any salary after the 1st of July following, but that an officer in active service from one of the Government services be obtained to run the journal. When the matter was placed before him, General Gorgas agreed to let us have Major Edward L. Munson, as Secretary-Editor. General Gorgas was also good enough to have Munson ordered home by cable so as to be in Washington in time for the meeting in September. It was evident that a reorganization was necessary if the Association was to be saved from extinction, and to secure a reorganization it was necessary to have the meeting in Washington where the Army, the Navy, and the Public Health Service could attend in considerable numbers. At meetings like that in Cincinnati the great majority of those attending were National Guard officers, because it was the custom to order a number of delegates from each state, and to pay them mileage which covered the expenses of the trip. According to the Constitution at that time, the voting in the Nominating Committee was by Services, and each Service was credited with a number of votes proportionate to its membership in the Association. The Army and Navy together had a clear majority of the votes under this system, but as any member had a right to make a nomination from the floor after the nominations by the Committee were announced, to secure the election of any slate, or the ratification of any program of reform, a majority

173. of the members present was necessary. As the Secretary and Treasurer were both National Guardsmen, they could probably count on the support of all the National Guard delegates.

On August 20 Lieut. Col. Ireland, who was returning from a tour of three years service in the Philippines, stopped over at Fort Leavenworth and spent two days with me. It was a very joyful occasion for both of us. I asked his assistance in the coming meeting, and he promised to get on the train which would take me to Washington when it passed by his home, Columbia City, Ind., on the 9th of Sept. He had, in addition to his traveling bag, a florist's box which apparently contained flowers. On our arrival in Washington at 9 A.M. we were met by Major Williamson with his car who asked us where we wanted to go. To my surprise Ireland replied, "to Arlington Cemetery." On arrival there he asked me to show him General O'Reilly's grave where he placed his flowers, being his first act on his return to Washington since the death of our beloved chief.

The Washington meeting was one of much interest and was well attended on account of the unusual interest created in our Association by the great war in Europe. We had, however, the misfortune to strike one of the terrible hot spells which sometimes visit the capital city in September. The public meeting was in the ballroom of the Willard Hotel on the evening of September 14th. The heat was unbearable without the electric fans, and when they were turned on it was with much difficulty that any of the speakers could make themselves heard. My sufferings were added to by the custom which at that time required, on an occasion of this sort, a man to wear his full dress coat which was of blue broadcloth, and usually considerably padded. Assistant Secretary of War Breckenridge was the principal speaker of the evening. He was, like many Kentuckians, an orator and had an excellent voice which made his short address heard even in contest with the fans. My Presidential address of about twenty-five minutes was on

174. "Lessons of the Great War," and was received with attention, though I am afraid only those of the audience in the front seats could hear it. The Surgeon General, however, purchased 2,500 reprints of it for distribution to the Medical Corps and the Reserve Corps so that I did not feel that the victory of the fans was entirely complete. Dr. and Mrs. Charles W. Richardson gave a beautiful reception to the Association at their very handsome country house on the outskirts of the city. Dr. Richardson was at this time a lieutenant, but later in the war he became colonel in the Reserve. When the election of officers took place Colonel Ireland, to whom I had assigned the duty of mustering all the Army, Navy, and Public Health members in town, gave evidence that he had done his duty with his customary efficiency. The hall where the meeting took place began to fill up until by the time the nominating committee made its report there was standing room only. The nominations were: President, Surg. Gen. Rupert Blue, U.S. P.H. Service; 1st Vice President, Med. Inspector George A. Lung, U.S.N.; 2nd Vice Pres., Lieut. Col. Henry Allers, N.J. Nat. Gd.; 3rd Vice Pres., Col. Henry P. Birmingham, M.C.; Sec-Editor, Maj. Edward L. Munson, M.C.; Treas., Maj. J. Harry Ullrich, Md. N.G. No nominations were made from the floor, and all were unanimously elected. I found out afterwards that there was a contest in the Committee over the positions between the former incumbents and those nominated in the case of the Secretary-Editorship and the Treasurer-ship, the former officers being decidedly defeated. It was evident that with the large attendance the former incumbents had no chance of a nomination from the floor. General Gorgas gave me a very handsome dinner on the roof of the Club after the meeting was over. There were twenty guests including the two other Surgeon Generals, Generals Sternberg and Crowder, Mr. Polk, Counsel to the State Department, and a number of the senior officers of our Corps. After this meeting, at which I felt that the reorganization of the Association of Military Surgeons had been accomplished, I

175. returned to Fort Leavenworth.

In December the greatest sorrow and misfortune of my life befell me in the death of my good and gentle wife who combined with a sweet temper much energy and administrative ability, and a personal charm which made her beloved and sought after by a wide circle of friends. I took her to Virginia be buried in the little family cemetery at Monticello. While in Virginia I received a telegram from General Gorgas asking me to come to Washington to see him. I did so arriving in Washington on December 14th. On going to see General Gorgas, he showed me a letter he had written me to Fort Leavenworth offering me a detail with the Red Cross under their new organization with the title of Director General of Military Relief. He said that if I would be willing to retire, I would be given a salary of \$5,000 in addition to my retired pay, and perhaps a salary if I did not retire. I had no wish to retire, but was willing to accept this new duty with whatever increase of pay they chose to give me. Gorgas told me that there had been a strong movement to give this position to a General Officer of the line, but that he had energetically opposed this, and said that the job was one for a medical officer. In this ex-President Taft, who was the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross, sustained him, and indicated that he desired me to have the appointment. I went to see Mr. Taft on December 30th at the Red Cross Building, S.E. corner H & 17th Sts. He was very cordial, got up and closed the door, and had a long and confidential talk with me, telling me of the entire reorganization of the Red Cross, and his desire to have it prepared to play a great role in the war, if we should have one. I was told that General Gorgas had spoken to the Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, about my detail, and had obtained his approval for it. I therefore returned to Fort Leavenworth to pack up and await an order. After I had packed up my furniture and reported to Gen. Gorgas that I was ready to come, there was a long delay with much telegraphing

176. back and forth. It appeared that my order had been held up by the Chief of Staff, Gen. Hugh. L. Scott, an old friend with whom I had served on General Wood's staff in Cuba. He opposed my being brought to Washington because General Gorgas had not consulted him on the subject before arranging the matter with the Secretary of War.* Meanwhile, Mr. Garrison resigned because the President would not approve a plan of Army reorganization prepared by him with the assistance of the General Staff, called the Continental Army plan. The Assistant Secretary of War resigned also at the same time, February 10, 1916. This was a great blow to those who wished for some steps of military preparation at this time when all Europe was involved in war. The President's selection of Mr. Newton C. Baker as the new Secretary was another blow to the cause of preparedness, as he was generally regarded as a pacifist, or near pacifist. He did nothing to encourage preparedness, but made a good Secretary when war actually came upon us because he left matters to his military advisers. He naturally did not want to go against the advice of his Chief of Staff about my order, but the pressure from the Red Cross authorities was such that he agreed that I should be given a temporary order for four months. Such an order did not justify the renting of a house, or cover the transportation of my household furniture, but General Gorgas was sure that a new order could be obtained when the time was up, and I accordingly came on to Washington with my two children, arriving on January 16, 1916. (Conflict in dates: Baker not chosen Sec'y till Mar. 6, 1916.)

As the result of my experience in the Spanish War, in which I had observed that it took months to organize good hospitals, I arrived with my mind made up that the first thing to be done was to put into operation all the resources of the National Red Cross for the organization of war hospitals. The great marble palace of the Red Cross on 17th St. between D and E, had not then been built, and their offices were in an old building on the S.E. corner of H and 17th Sts. which is still standing. I found Major Robert U. Patterson (now the Surgeon General) on duty with the Red Cross where he had succeeded Major Lynch,

*Note – Gen. Scott naturally did not give this reason to the Sec'y, but in his first anger as finding out from Col. Fisher that Gen. Gorgas has spoken to the Sec'y about it, he said so to Fisher. That the reason given to the Sec'y was not the real one was shown by the fact that he brought to Washington as his Sec'y about this time Major Wm. F. Graves (later Major Gen.) whose service in Washington had been about the same as mine – that is he came to Washington in 1909 and had been there ever since except two years 1912-14 when he was Manchued, as I was 1913-16.

177. and was devoting his time especially to first aid instruction of miners and other industrial employees. He became my assistant, and devoted much of his time thereafter to the organization of Ambulance Companies under Red Cross auspices at universities and colleges. A few days after taking up my work I went to see the Surgeon General of the Navy to offer the assistance of the Red Cross if he needed it. Admiral Braisted was very cordial and gave me a naval assistant, Commander Theo. I. Richards, who was an admirable assistant and fellow worker during the year and a half that I served with the Red Cross.

Base Hospitals.

The attitude of the administration was against all military preparation, and Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, said in a speech that when necessary a million men would spring to arms in a day! The fact that we did not have a million arms for them to spring to did not worry him at all. Nor did he realize that men are only the raw material of which an army is made, and it requires months to convert one into the other. But though even the Medical Department were not allowed to prepare, the President did not object to the organization of medical units by the Red Cross. Lynch had already obtained authority for such units though he visualized only small field units, and not the great base hospitals that I had in mind. For the creation of these, I adopted a suggestion thrown out by Dr. G.W. Crile at a dinner, that existing hospitals and medical schools be made the nuclei about which base hospitals could be organized so as to use groups of doctors, nurses and orderlies who knew each other, and were accustomed to work together. These should be brought together by a prominent surgeon or physician in each institution, to whom was given the title of Director, and he was authorized to go outside and call in former graduates. All the medical officers enrolled in these units should be given commissions in the Medical Reserve Corps, and the nurses enrolled in the Red Cross Nurses Reserve Corps. The orderlies should be enlisted in the Enlisted Reserve. Certain civilian technicians as dietitians and women stenographers were added. The whole scheme was explained in a paper

178. published in the Military Surgeon of May 1916, page 539, entitled, "The New Role of the American Red Cross." The preliminary preparedness work of the Department of Military Relief of the Red Cross is given in a condensed form in the Annual Report of the American Red Cross for 1936, dated Dec. 13, 1916 (A.R.C. 140) by Eliot Wadsworth.

Whether the medical schools and general hospitals could be persuaded to enter into this scheme I did not know, but determined to lose no time in attempting it. I drew up a letter of authority and instructions for the Surgeon General to sign, authorizing me to organize Base Hospitals at New York, Boston, Rochester, and Cleveland. He had already committed himself by promises of hospitals to Harvey Cushing Dr. John M. Swan, and Crile, which I at once proceeded to make good. Under our agreement he made no more such promises, but left me a free hand in this matter.

I went to New York on Jan. 29th, 1916 and visited the officers of the local Red Cross Chapter, meeting the Secretary, Mrs. William K. Draper, with whom I talked preparedness, a matter which she understood quite well because she had been one of the organizers of a Chapter at the time of the Spanish War. I then went to a luncheon given by Mr. Norton, a member of the R.C. Executive Committee, at 61 Broadway. There were present General and Mrs. Leonard Wood, Mr. Davison (who was a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, and who afterwards became all-powerful in the R.C. as the head of the War Council), Mr. William Potter, and Mr. Stimson, formerly Secretary of War. They were much interested in my scheme for the organization of Base Hospitals. I dined with Dr. Samuel Lambert who knew the medical profession in New York well, and advised me whom to see. He mentioned three men who represented medical groups, Dr. George Brewer, Chief Surgeon at the Presbyterian Hospital; Dr. Chas. L. Gibson, who represented N.Y. University and the New York Hospital; Dr. George David Stewart, who represented Bellevue Hospital.

179. I went to see each of these, and each agreed to organize a Base Hospital for his group and be its Director. After three busy days I returned to Washington feeling that my time had been very well employed. The New York Chapter of the R.C. invited me to attend their meeting on Feb. 17th. I was very glad to do this because it gave me an opportunity to lay before them an important part of the organization of these Base Hospitals, which was their equipment. This I proposed should be furnished by the local R.C. Chapters in the cities where Base Hospitals were organized. The meeting was held in the ballroom of the beautiful home of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, who was in Europe. It was presided over by Mr. Rufus Choate, then at the head of the New York bar. There were about sixty members present, a very distinguished gathering. I described the plan of organization of Base Hospitals as the contribution of the medical profession, and stated that their equipment was the obvious duty of the R.C. Chapters. To the question why the Government did not provide the equipment, I replied that it was a matter of time. After war was declared the Government would undoubtedly provide the money, but it would take several precious months to turn money into equipment, and in time of war we cannot wait several months. The hospitals would be needed as soon as mobilization of troops began. The blankets, for example, which these hospitals would need immediately on mobilizing were not in existence, the market for blankets having been stripped by the demands of the war in Europe. The blankets for our hospitals were now on the backs of the sheep, and it would require six months to obtain them. In the same way, surgical instruments were largely supplied by Germany, and orders should be at once placed with the American makers in order to obtain what we needed in any reasonable time. I told them that I was not asking for money at the present moment, but was explaining what I thought was their obligation to the country. Mr. Robert Bacon then got up and said that Colonel Kean was not asking for money at the present time, but he was, and he

180. proposed that before the meeting disbanded they should take up a subscription. This was done and more than \$30,000 was subscribed at that meeting for the three base hospitals already promised. Five additional base hospitals were afterwards organized in New York City. The serial numbers of these with the names of their parent institutions and directors will be found in an appendix at the end of this sketch.⁹ It might be here stated that the General Staff had limited the number of Base Hospitals which the Surgeon General was authorized to make through the Red Cross to fifty. Most of these were organized, or in the process of organization before I left the Red Cross the 1st of July, 1917. The order of their serial numbers does not indicate the order in which their organization was begun because no base hospital was given its number until its equipment was promised by a R.C. Chapter. This held until we entered the World War when the government took over the purchase of supplies, and those who had difficulty in obtaining the money to furnish equipment were supplied as rapidly as equipment could be obtained. From New York I went to Boston where, after very interesting conversations and experiences, three base hospitals were put in organization: #5, Harvard University, with Dr. Harvey Cushing as Director; #6, Mass. General Hospital, with the Superintendent of the hospital, Dr. F.A. Washburn, as Director; #7, Boston City Hospital, with Dr. J.J. Dowling, Supt. of the hospital, as Director. President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University called on me and proposed another man as Director of the Harvard Unit, but as General Gorgas had already promised it to Dr. Cushing, I had no choice in the matter. From Boston I went to Rochester, New York, where lived Dr. John N. Swan to whom General Gorgas had also promised a hospital. This promise was very difficult to carry out as he had only been there four years and was not connected with any hospital, nor was there any Red Cross Chapter in this city to provide the equipment. He was able to collect, however, a group of excellent men for his staff, and with difficulty a meeting organized a R.C. Chapter out of hand. This hospital, #19, had, however, a great many difficulties and

⁹ Not found in the Kean Papers, but in The Medical Department of The United States Army in the World War, Volume I: The Surgeon General's Office (1923, Washington DC), p.103.

181. delays before it achieved its organization. From Rochester I went to Cleveland where Dr. Crile had promised Gen. Gorgas to organize a Base Hospital in the Lakeside Hospital. He had expected me the following week and was out of town, but I got in touch with the hospital authorities and proceeded to get things started before his return. This fine hospital was rapidly organized and was the first to be sent to Europe after we entered the war. For this unit I made the physical examinations of almost all the officers, and also called on Mr. Samuel Mather, a very wealthy and public-spirited citizen of Cleveland, who gave me a good hearing and promised that the equipment of the unit should be looked after. I returned to Washington on March 1st feeling that a good start had been made.

Many important matters pressing for solution were waiting me. Among these were the form of enrollment for R.C. units; the general policy and method of enrollment of the medical men in the H.C., who should purchase equipment for Base Hospitals and other units, whether it should be purchased by the units themselves or by my office; in case of purchase by the unit how it could be standardized, where it should be stored and how cared for.

On March 13 the papers were full of Villa's attack on the camp of the 13th Cavalry at Columbus, N.M., commanded by Col. H.J. Slocum. The Cabinet decided that he should be pursued into Mexico and killed or captured. This started a long pursuit of Villa who was part revolutionist and part bandit, and occupied a considerable force of cavalry under General Pershing for several months.

In the New York Sun of March 5th there appeared an article by Dr. Carl Connell, Surgeon of the 71st Reg., N.Y. Nat. Gd., who had been serving with the British in France. He urged the organization of Base Hospitals, just what I was busy doing, and I often thereafter referred to this article. An impression got abroad that he had originated the movement which we have seen was well launched before this article appeared.

182. Organization of Red Cross National Committee for Medical Service.

Meanwhile the great national medical societies of the nation had united to organize a Committee of American Physicians for medical preparedness. This Committee sent its Executive Committee to Washington, and on April 26th they saw the President and offered him the services of the profession. He accepted their offer of service and sent them to the Secretary of War and the Navy. At the invitation of Dr. Kober, I met this Committee and told them of the organization of the R.C. National Committee for medical service which contemplated doing the same work, and proposed that these two committees become interlocking and work together. This offer was accepted, and they became, with eight other members whom we added, the R.C. National Committee for Medical Service. This was, after we entered the war, expanded into the General Medical Board, the Medical Subsidiary of the Council of National Defense. For a full account of these Committees see, "General Medical Board" in the Military Surgeon, Aug., 1930, p. 203.

In April I went to Cleveland to push along the organization of Base Hospital No.4 under Crile, and then to Detroit to organize there a Base Hospital (which afterwards became No.17) at Harper Hospital under Dr. Angus McLean. In May I visited New York about the Mt. Sinai unit (No.3) and saw Mr. Blumenthal about the money for its equipment. In the name of his wife they gave \$24,000, and this good unit was promptly created under Dr. Brill as Director. He was not able to take it to France and Dr. Howard Lilienthal succeeded him and took it over. It is tedious to narrate my numerous trips and negotiations in the spring and summer of 1916 to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and other cities for the organization of Base Hospitals and the solicitation of funds for their equipment.

The question of the storage of Base Hospital equipment was a very difficult one, partly on account of the immense storage space required for a base hospital with its 500 beds, and partly on account of the Medical Department on this account having made no

183. effort to accumulate such equipment in its storehouses, and having only enough of such equipment on hand for one base hospital. The Red Cross Chapters were apparently willing to purchase this equipment, but expressed themselves emphatically as unwilling to pay storage on it, claiming, very properly, that this was the business of the United States, as the equipment was intended solely for national use. The Secretary of War admitted this claim in principle, and authorized the Quartermaster General to store the equipment of the R.C. Base Hospitals wherever storage was available. The joker in this permission was that the Quartermaster Department did not have sufficient storage for its own property, and claimed to have no funds to rent storage for the Red Cross. While this matter was still being fussed over, war was declared, and funds at once became available.

The time of my temporary detail in Washington having expired, I went to see General Scott and Secretary Baker about it on June 5th, 1916. General Scott seemed rather ashamed, but made no promises. He said that he was opposed to the Medical Department "branching out." I reminded him that the basic purpose for which the Red Cross was created was to assist the medical service in war. The Secretary was pleasant, but noncommittal, and said that if I stayed too long in Washington it might be an obstacle to my appointment as Surgeon General. I told him that I had complied with the Manchu Law, and my present work was of great importance to the medical service, so I was willing to risk the matter of the Surgeon Generalcy. Mr. Taft had already been to see him on this subject, but got no satisfaction. So finally he went to the President and told his story. The President then sent a little note to Secretary Baker directing that I be continued on duty in Washington for a year. This naturally prejudiced the Secretary against me, a fact of which I was to have much evidence in the future.

On June 1st General Arthur Murray, official Executive of the Red Cross, went with me to New York to look for storage space for our Base Hospital equipment, as

184. the matter was urgent. We saw Gen. Leonard Wood and his Chief Quartermaster, Col. Bellinger, and finally had the barracks at an ungarrisoned post near New York - Fort Schuyler - turned over to us for that purpose.

In June I attended the annual meeting of the Amer. Med. Assoc. in Detroit, as I was a member of the House of Delegates for the Army. At the hotel I had an adjoining room to Ireland, who came up from his station at San Antonio. Birmingham, LaGarde, and many other friends were there. The House of Delegates unanimously endorsed the National Board of Medical Examiners, to my great joy, on June 13, 1916. We had a fine meeting of the National Committee on Red Cross Medical Service. Dr. Vander Veer presided, and I acted as Secretary. I explained the scheme of evacuation of the wounded and the need for the organization of medical units. I found that they all conceived a hospital as a building, not as a group of medical personnel. Finally, on motion of Dr. Oschner of Chicago, they voted a request to the Executive Committee of the R.C. to mobilize a Base Hospital in Philadelphia at the time of the meeting there of the Congress of Clinical Surgeons in October, so that they could visualize it and see it in being.

On June 19, 1916 news came of the attack by Mexican troops on Capt. Chas. T. Boyd and two troops of 10th Cavalry at Carrizal, Mexico, in which Boyd's command was defeated with the loss of three officers, Lieut. Adair killed, Capt. Morey wounded, and Lt. Hoge captured. Mr. Taft telegraphed to Gen. Murray, Mr. Bicknell of the Red Cross, and myself to meet him in New York. We spent all Sunday, June 24, in conference as to steps to be taken in case of war with Mexico. I returned to Washington on the night train. I reported that we had 23 Base Hospitals in process of organization, five of them in New York City. The money to equip nine was fully subscribed - about \$250,000. I saw Birmingham and Noble at the S.G.O. about my assignment as Chief Surgeon of a Field Army in case of war. They were of the opinion that my present work was of too great importance to be interrupted, and that the Secretary, after the recent contest over my detail would insist that I

185. should be kept on it. I saw the force of this, and reluctantly gave up my claim. General Gorgas and Major Theodore Lyster, his nephew, had sailed for South America on June 14th on a yellow fever mission financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, to be gone six months or more. On July 8th I received my first additional pay from the Red Cross. Mr. Taft fixed it at the difference between my pay and allowances and Mr. Bicknell's salary. It amounted to a little over \$100 a month in addition to my army pay.

On September 1st General Murray was replaced by Mr. Eliot Wadsworth as executive head of the Red Cross under Mr. Taft. Mr. Wadsworth was 40 years old, a bachelor from Boston, an Overseer of Harvard University, and wealthy. I took up with him the urgent matter of storage for Base Hospital equipment. In September I got to work on the proposed mobilization of a Base Hospital at Philadelphia. I went to Philadelphia on the 21st and met at lunch Drs. F.H. Martin, Edward Martin, Robert LeConte, Simpson of Pittsburgh, and Geo. Brewer of New York. We discussed the mobilization of Base Hospital No.2, Dr. Brewer's unit. We selected and secured a lovely plain of turf in Fairmount Park for the site. The Trustees of the Presbyterian Hospital of New York, however, refused to let the personnel of Base Hospital No.2 go, so we selected No.4, Crile's unit, from Cleveland, whose Board of Trustees gave their permission. I asked the R.C. Executive Committee for \$10,000 for the mobilization. They finally, after much talk, gave me \$7,500 at Mr. Taft's suggestion, but were not enthusiastic about it. The obtaining of tentage from Frankfort Arsenal in Philadelphia got me into trouble with the ~~testy~~ and suspicious Chief of Staff. The request for it was written by Dr. Martin, I think, and it happened that the Secretary approved it, and the order was issued before General Scott knew it. He sent for me in great indignation and without waiting for me to explain dragged me into the Secretary's office and reported me to him as a subject for discipline. The Secretary, looking surprised, asked me what I had to say.

186. I said, "Mr. Secretary, I must deny for myself and for the Surgeon General any responsibility for the handling of papers in your office." He asked what I meant, and I went on to say that papers came to his desk for approval through two channels, those relating to purely military matters came from the Chief of Staff, while those relating to civil matters came from the Chief Clerk. I knew nothing about the channel taken by this request for tentage, but surmised that because it was signed by a civilian doctor it had been brought in by the Chief Clerk, and approved by him without the Chief of Staff having seen it. He smiled and told General Scott to please see that the military papers all came over his desk.

The mobilization of Base Hospital No.4 in Fairmount Park, Phila., turned out to be a much more difficult job than it at first appeared. I was able, after several delays, to get the services of Major Harold W. Jones, M.C., to take charge of pitching the tent hospital, and the personnel division of the S.G.O. agreed to send him a number of N.C.Os. and privates from the Medical Department to pitch the tents, and put the camp in order. These came straggling in one by one, no two from the same post, and it took much trouble for Jones to organize them into a working body. However his cleverness and ability triumphed over all difficulties. Base Hospital No.4 medical officers, nurses, and orderlies arrived by special train from Cleveland on October 26, and when I inspected it the next day, I found eleven acres of hospital tents all pitched in order, and the personnel distributed to their proper places. Then the surgeons of the Clinical Congress arrived with the high functionaries of the Red Cross to inspect it on October 28, everything was in order and prepared to receive patients. In the operating room nurses were at hand, the instruments boiling in the sterilizers, the surgeons at their posts, and only the patients were lacking. In the kitchen food was being prepared, and in the admission tent the registrar with his clerks was ready to record ad-

187. missions of the wounded. In the wards the beds were all made and the attendants at hand. The mobilization made a great success, and I heard nothing more of hospitals being buildings.

Admiral Dewey's funeral was on January 20, 1917, and all Government Departments were closed. It was a great military display but I did not go as my arthritic knee troubled me. I met Captain Amundsen, discoverer of the South Pole at a small dinner at Mrs. Murray's, where I took General Murray's place as he was sick. Amundsen was only 44 years of age, but looked ten years older, and his face was furrowed and weather beaten, and with a big nose. A very interesting man who later lost his life in the Arctic sea looking for the Italian, Nobile. The promotion of Dr. Grayson of the Navy to Rear Admiral in the Medical Corps, over 114 medical officers, created much talk in the papers at this time.

On January 29, 1917 we moved into the beautiful new Red Cross building. My office was a room 25 feet square on the first floor, the first to the left. On January 31st the German Government repudiated the Sussex agreement¹⁰ and avowed their intention to sink without notice all neutral ships within a certain large zone about the British Islands and the French Coast. The United States at once recalled our ambassador at Berlin, Gerard, and handed Bernstorff¹¹ his passports. All German interned vessels in our ports were seized and war was imminent, a war foreseen by the Army, but for which no preparations had been made, except what General Wood was able to push through as Commanding General of the Eastern Department without the approval of the War Department. Of these the Plattsburg Camps for the instruction of officers was the most notable.¹² These camps were financed by money raised by him by private subscriptions. The Medical Department of the Army had, as narrated, made a good start through the Red Cross, and by training a little the Medical Reserve Officers. The S.G.O. was, however, very dilatory in issuing commissions to the Reserve Officers of my Base Hospitals - a matter which gave me great uneasiness. Major Noble apparently did not want these officers to be too much in advance of a war mobilization - why, I could not understand. This delay

¹⁰ The passenger liner Sussex had been sunk by the Germans in May 1916. After an American protest, the Germans promised to cease unrestricted submarine warfare, that they would return to using international rules about searching ships before sinking them and making sure passengers and crew had safely evacuated the ship. German adherence was spotty, being especially lax in the Mediterranean, before they abandoned it entirely in February 1917.

¹¹ Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, German Ambassador in Washington.

¹² Plattsburgh camps were summer camps for volunteers to obtain some military training at their own expense. Many Plattsburghers went on to be junior Army officers.

188. resulted in a great confusion which was made worse by a ludicrous accident. When war was declared there was a great expansion of the War Department with untrained clerks, and the old trained ones were overwhelmed with work. When the long list of many pages of names of Reserve Officers, including those of my Base Hospitals, was made out, the three grades of major, captain, and first lieutenant got mixed up by the inexperienced girls, and when the commissions were issued many of the older men appeared as lieutenants, whereas juniors and pupils were majors and captains. It took much precious time and patience to unscramble this omelet, and much heat was developed in the process.

When General Gorgas returned from his South American trip about the end of January, war seemed to be in the offing and, perhaps distrusting his physical strength to go through such an ordeal, he sounded the Secretary of War as to retirement. The Secretary asked him who he had in mind as his successor. He said, "Birmingham" (who had been Acting Surgeon General during his absence) "or Kean." "Colonel Kean is a man whose career I do not wish to advance" was the Secretary's reply as told me by Gorgas. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany occurred while the matter was under consideration, and it was then dropped.

On Febr. 16th Drs. Franklin Martin and Simpson called and invited me to be a member of a Board to make recommendations to the Council of National Defense as to medical preparedness. The other members were the three Surgeon Generals and Dr. William J. Mayo. On the 24th the Council, composed of six Cabinet Officers, gave a very interesting hearing in the Secretary of War's office on this subject. Gen. Scott attended, and I wondered what he thought then of the Medical Department "branching out." The 4th of March, with the inauguration of President Wilson for a second term, came before Congress had passed most of the regular appropriation bills, as well as the bill authorizing the President to arm the merchant ships against submarines. This obstruction was due to filibustering in the Senate by a group of

189. six Republicans and five Democrats whom the President spoke of as “a little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own.” La Follette and Stone were the leaders in this meeting against the defense of the country.

On April 2nd the President went to the Capitol and addressed the House and Senate assembled together asking that war be declared against Germany, and proposing the raising of an army of 500,000 men with later increments of like strength. War was actually declared on April 6th. On April 9th I attended a meeting of the Medical Advisory Committee at which were present Surgeon Generals Gorgas, Braisted, and Blue; Drs. Franklin Martin, Simpson, Wm. H. Welch, Simmons of Amer. Med. Assoc., Peck, Victor C. Vaughan, Finney, Winford Smith, Besley, Stuart McGuire, Flint, Richard Strong, and Edward Martin of Philadelphia. This was the first of many meetings of this great committee. Saturday the 22nd was a meeting of bankers and financiers from all parts of the country summoned by the President to consider ways and means of raising 50 million dollars for the Red Cross. Mr. H.P. Davison of New York took charge of this campaign and achieved an amazing success; he actually raised 114 millions. He then organized the Red Cross War Council, a super-group of half a dozen men who dominated the Executive Committee until the end of the war. It was appointed by the President on May 10, he being the titular head of the National Red Cross.

On April 27 General Gorgas called me over to his office and introduced me to Colonel Goodwin of the British Army Med. Service, a member of the British mission who came to ask for six Base Hospitals to serve with their armies in France. I said yes, we could furnish them. He asked when, and seemed greatly surprised and pleased when I told him in the course of a month. They were to go without equipment. The Surgeon General asked the necessary orders for calling them into active service while I attended to the infinite number of details of inducting them into the service. I had first to explain to almost every bureau in the War Department what a Red Cross Base Hospital was, and that the Red Cross ceased to have anything to do with it when

190. it was called into the service, "no more than a mother has to do with the movements of her son after he enlists and marches off with his regiment." I had also to get from the Surgeon General regular medical officers to command the Base Hospitals, when called into service, and to discipline them. These Commanding Officers were increasingly hard to extract from the personnel division of the S.G.O. I found that they had planned to take Patterson away from me, so I offered him the command of the Harvard Unit, Base Hospital No.5, which he accepted joyfully, as it would take him promptly to Europe. In fact, he sailed with it on May 11th, being the second of the Units for the British to go under my promise to Colonel Goodwin. The first to sail was Crile's unit from Cleveland, Base Hospital No.4, which was the most ready because of its mobilization at Philadelphia the previous October. It sailed May 5 with Gilchrist in command. Persons was designated to command B.H. No.2, the Presbyterian Hospital unit from New York (Major George Brewer, Director), but he was unable to get up from Panama by its sailing date the 12th of May, so Hopwood took command. The other three followed rapidly, and these were the first units of our Army to reach France. The last to arrive was B.H. No.12 from Chicago, Besley as Director, which sailed on the Mongolia, which turned back to New York when two days at sea because of a curious accident by which two of the nurses were killed. They were watching the firing of one of the guns carried as a defense against submarines when a metal disk, which was in the cartridge between the powder and the shell, struck a wave and came back on board like a boomerang and struck them. Later in the war a ship would not have turned back, as it lost four days for no good purpose. Maj. C.C. Collins, M.C., commanded this fine unit.

Persons was sent up to Allentown to command the ambulance companies which Patterson had organized, and which were in training there. The President proclaimed the draft on May 19th, but it was announced that the new National Army would not be called to the colors until Sept. 1st, as the camps had to be built, and some

191. 18,000 officers trained. People then remembered Sec. of State Wm. J. Bryan's announcement of six months before, that preparation was not necessary as a million men would spring to colors overnight. Ireland came on from San Antonio on May 21st, and told me he was to go with General Pershing as his Chief Surgeon.

These were strenuous days with Mr. Davison and the Red Cross War Council in charge at the Red Cross Building, and something new started every day. Mr. Davison had long consultations with prominent medical men, but did not take either the Surgeon General or me into his confidence about his plans, and I foresaw that he was planning to run the medical service of the Army like the Sanitary Commission did in the Civil War, and I warned Gorgas. Fortunately most of the leaders of the medical profession were Reserve Officers, who regarded the Surgeon General as their chief, and were not inclined to take any important steps without his approval. One plan which Mr. Davison was much set upon was to select prominent doctors from civil life and send them to make sanitary inspections of the camps as Red Cross officials. At the meeting of the National Committee on Red Cross Medical Service in New York on June 7th, I explained the importance of upholding the Surgeon General and doing nothing to confuse his plans. Col. Frank Billings spoke strongly in favor of this. Later Mr. Davison gave a big dinner in New York to explain his medical plans. Gorgas was invited, but did not care to have anything sprung on him at dinner, and slipped away from New York without leaving any address. When Mr. Davison unfolded his plans, Dr. Billings said that he would not go into anything until it had the Surgeon General's approval. Most of the others agreed with him, and the plan fell flat. Mr. Davison knew that this was just what I had told him, and guessed that Gorgas's absence was not accidental, so when he returned to Washington he went to the Secretary and demanded my relief from duty with the Red Cross. This the Secretary was glad to comply with. Gorgas came to see me at the Red Cross, and told me of it. He seemed to feel very badly about it, and offered me a choice of duty either as a Department Chief Surgeon, or to go to France. I told him that I had

192. really accomplished my task at the Red Cross, and was glad to leave it, and especially to go to France. The French mission under Marshall Joffre,¹³ which was in Washington, had asked that the American Ambulance Service with the French Army, a volunteer organization which had done much fine work at the front, but was lacking in discipline, be militarized and placed under regular officers, and Gorgas offered me the position of Director of this service.¹⁴ When Mr. Davison, and the other members of the War Council were told by Gorgas that I was pleased, they came in and congratulated me. Later they gave me a beautiful dinner at the Metropolitan Club, and presented me with a large silver loving cup holding over a gallon. So I retired from the Red Cross with the honors of War. Mr. John D. Ryan, President of the Anaconda Copper Company became Director General in my place, but confessed to me that he knew nothing of the job.* I turned over my desk and duties on July 15th to Major Winford Smith, Superintendent of John Hopkins Hospital, who had been the Director of the Johns Hopkins Base Hospital (No.18), but was replaced by Major John M.T. Finney, afterward Surgical Consultant, A.E.F., with the rank of Brigadier General.¹⁵ On the next day I went to Allentown to inspect the camp where Colonels Persons and Percy Jones had 4,500 fine young men, mostly college men, in training. It was from these that I would draw recruits for my new Ambulance service in France. I got commissions as first lieut. in the newly created Sanitary Corps for George K. Weston, a Chief Clerk in the Red Cross, and for E. Ennalls Berl, a young lawyer from Wilmington, Del., who spoke French fluently and came to me highly recommended. Also two clerks who had worked in my office were made sergeants in the Medical Dept., and came with me. After getting these two commissions for my two assistants in the Sanitary Corps, I found out that the President had authorized an Ambulance Service in which would be issued commissions up to the grade of major, and these were used to officer the Ambulance Services in France. The Surgeon General agreed to let me select the officers for this service, except the one colonel and two lieut. colonels.

I learned later that the Colonelcy was reserved for his son-in-law, Mr. Wrightson,

*Mr. Jesse H. Jones afterwards became Director Gen. of Military Relief and Col. C.H. Connor, M.C., became Director of the Bureau of Base Hospitals and of Medical Service. The eight other bureaus in the Department of Military Relief were given to other men. See Annual Report for the year ending June 30, 1918, of the Am. Nat. Red Cross.

¹³ The French government sent a mission under the political leadership of M. Paul Painlevé and the military leadership of their superceded Generalissimo, Marshall Joseph Joffre, to arrange economic, financial, and military cooperation with France.

¹⁴ John R. Smucker, Jr., The History of the United States Army Ambulance Service with the French and Italian Armies, 1917-1918-1919 (1969, William G. Schlecter Printing) is apparently the only history of the Army Ambulance Service as a whole, and focuses on the units and personnel from Allentown rather than those already in France.

¹⁵ Consultants were eminent civilian physicians in various medical and surgical specialities who advised the Army on the civilian leaders in their fields, allowing better management of personnel. Senior Army physicians were frequently medical administrators who had not kept touch with the latest developments, and consultants bridged the gap.

193. who was appointed, but never came to France. My party was ordered to sail on the French liner Rochambeau on July 28th, but the date was twice postponed, and we finally sailed on the 3rd of August. In the steerage I found 66 engineer clerks going over to report to Colonel Harry Taylor with the Headquarters, A.E.F. They were in uniform but quite innocent of discipline, so I assumed command of them and put them under Lieut. Weston. We arrived at Bordeaux on the 15th very pleased to get ashore, as for several nights we had been required to sleep in our clothes, with our safety belts by us, in case we should be torpedoed. We reached Paris at 8.30 in the evening of the 14th and were met at the station by Bradley, Ireland, and Winter. Bradley had not come over on the Baltic with General Pershing's party, but was already in England as a medical observer. Gen. Gorgas had recommended him for Chief Surgeon of the A.E.F., a selection which did not at all please General Pershing who had selected Ireland for this position, but he did not care to dispute the question. Colonel Bradley was not a well man and his health broke down, so when Ireland became Chief Surgeon on May 1st, 1918, he had been doing the heavy work of the office for many months.

I reported to General Pershing who did not seem especially enthusiastic about Patterson's fine ambulance companies at Allentown going to the French. He sent me with a letter and his French aide, Capitaine de Marenches, to report to the French Minister of War, who was also Prime Minister, M. Painleve, to whom I was presented by M. Godart, the Sous Ministre de la Santé.

On Aug. 20 I set out with Mr. A. Piatt Andrew the Chief of the American Field Service, to inspect some sections of it which were operating with the French Army defending Verdun. This was a most interesting trip. The French were just driving the Germans back after the long siege, and I saw a triage in operation with the wounded being brought in and sorted, and then sent off to the evacuation hospital. We spent the night with Section No.2 which was going all night, and we saw a great French evacuation hospital set in flames by the German planes. We went into Verdun where shells were falling intermittently, and then went to Forts Vaux and Douaumont east of the Meuse River. In coming back we came under shell fire. One huge fellow

194. falling beside the road threw dirt over us and a large clod into my lap as I sat in the front seat of the little Ford ambulance. The French medical officers that I met were a fine lot of men and were in high spirits over driving back the Crown Prince's Army.

From the neighborhood of Verdun we returned towards Paris along the rear of the French lines by way of St. Menhould, Suippes, Rheims, Soissons, and Compiègne. At Rheims we saw the famous cathedral terribly damaged by shell fire. These cities were largely deserted by their inhabitants and we saw only soldiers and a few old people, men and women. At Compiègne was the G.Q.G.¹⁶ of the French Armies, and the headquarters of Gen. Petain now in supreme command. We stopped and spent the night with Colonel Frank Parker, who was the liaison officer of the A.E.F., at the French headquarters. He gave us a delicious dinner prepared by his French soldier cook, who had been Chef at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in New York before the war. At dinner he had, to meet us, Commandant Doumenc who with that modest title commanded all the automobile transportation of the five French armies including some 80,000 officers and men. In his command were included the automobile ambulance service, and of course the Sections of the American Field Service. My ear was too little trained to follow his very rapid French and, as he did not pause to give Col. Parker a chance to translate, I got very little out of this conversation, though I had many questions to ask. On our return to Paris Aug. 23rd, I learned that Colonel Percy Jones of our Medical Corps had landed at St. Nazaire with 20 sections from Allentown, and ordered him to report to me in Paris. The sections of the American Field Service with the French armies at the time we took over the service as an American Army organization were about thirty in number, each of which had about 25 American volunteers under an American Chef de Section, and were equipped with 22 ambulances, a small Ford touring car, a light Ford truck, and a repair wagon. Each section was under the command of a French officer, usually a lieutenant, who had five or six French soldiers, me-

¹⁶ Grand Quartier General, the highest French Army headquarters

195. mechanics and cooks with him. The American Chef had the title of Commandant Adjoint. These American volunteers signed contracts with the French military authorities to serve for six months, after which supplemental contracts were made for three months. Rations, quarters, and gas were furnished by the French Army. One of these sections was assigned to a French division, and was under the general orders of the Division Surgeon. This Service used light Ford ambulances which were supplied from America by gift. When our Medical Service took over the Volunteer Service, the volunteers were asked to enlist in our American Ambulance Service, and the officers were given commissions in this Service as lieutenants and captains. The number of men in each section was much reduced when I came to enlist them, as many volunteers naturally preferred to join aviation or other combatant services in our Army. The French, however, insisted that the volunteers should not be discharged for this purpose before the expiration of their contracts, unless they could be immediately replaced by enlisted men of the new Ambulance Service. As the coming of the Allentown sections was much delayed by difficulties in getting priority assignments for transportation overseas, this requirement of the French caused much weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth among the volunteers who came in dozens to Paris, often without leave, to demand their discharges.

The selection of officers for the newly militarized sections presented many difficulties, due to the small number of old men in them. As the Allentown men had been in training for a number of months and were better disciplined than the volunteers, the claims of their officers to be considered for command could not be ignored, although Major A. Piatt Andrew, who was the Chief of the American Field Service, demanded that not only should all Chiefs of Sections be retained in command, but all vacancies in his 30 sections should be filled from the old men. I agreed that where one half, or finally 10, of his old men remained, he could select the Chief, but where a clear majority were Allentown men, one of their officers should command. Andrew would not agree to this, and tried to hold me up by refusing to let me use the facilities of his base camp at Passy in Paris for our Allentown men, but

196. I stood firm on this.

Besides the thirty sections of the American Field Service there were operating with the French Army seven or eight other sections of American volunteers known as the Norton-Harjes Service. They were financed by the Paris banker Mr. Richard Harjes through the Red Cross, which had supervision over them, their Chief being Mr. Richard Norton of Boston. There was much jealousy between the leaders of these two services, but Mr. Norton had met me in a friendly way and promised his assistance and cooperation in bringing his sections into the military organization of the American Ambulance Service. He, however, had much fear of being subordinated to Mr. Piatt Andrew, although I promised them the same rank (Major). He, therefore, declined the commission and wrote a secret letter to each of his sections advising them not to enter the service of the United States, and saying that if they did so they would be associated with a lot of roughs from Allentown. When I obtained a copy of this letter, I showed it to Major Murphy, the Red Cross Commissioner in Paris. Major Murphy sent for Mr. Norton, and made him write a new letter to each section retracting his former letter. The damage was, however, done, and very few men from these sections entered the American Ambulance Service. On my next visit to General Pershing at Chaumont I showed him this letter upon which he swore several mighty oaths, took up his 'phone, got Major Murphy on the other end, and directed that Mr. Norton be dismissed from any employment or connection with the American Red Cross, or any of its branches. Mr. Norton not long afterwards died of meningitis. His sections were all replaced by Allentown sections, except one, No.8, which reserved its former Chief and number until the numbers of all our sections were changed by an order from Chaumont. Six hundred and twenty four was added to the number of each section so that Section #1 of the old service became 625 in the new, etc. This was done to prevent confusion with the Ambulance Companies organized for service with the A.E.F.*

General Pershing was very liberal with my Service, and as these men could not draw rations from the American Commissary, he allowed them a money allowance of 70

*The French Direction de Service Automobile did not take kindly to the orders from our G.H.Q. renumbering the ambulance sections which was apparently done without consultation with them, and for several months refused to use or reorganize it. In order to comply with these contradictory authorities, I made the Sections write their numbers as fractions with the old number above and the American below. Thus Section One became U.S.A.A.C. No.1/625.

197. cents a day which fed them abundantly by purchases from the French. He also authorized me to make arrangements with the French military authorities for all military supplies, except uniforms. The French required that gasoline and motor oil should be not paid for, but replaced in kind. When these matters were decided, I sent out two officers together in an ambulance to visit all the sections on the left wing of the French front. They were to enlist all of the volunteers who were willing to do so, and to bring me back the acceptances of American commissions by the officers; also, Lieut. Weston was given 85,000 francs with which to make advances of commutation funds to the sections. The names of the officers had to go to General Pershing for approval before they could be commissioned.

The arrival of the eight more sections from Allentown under the command of Major Henry C. Coe made urgent a need which I had long felt, viz., a base camp to which sections could go while awaiting assignment or reorganization, and where an emergency reserve could be kept. The American Field Service had used for this purpose a fine property within the city limits of Paris on the north side of the Seine belonging to Baron Hollingeur at 21 Rue Raynouard, Passy. This, however, did not have sufficient accommodations for the enlarged militarized service, and also was not available because Major Andrew, to whom the Baron had lent it, wished to keep it for a sort of club for the ex-volunteers, he being not willing to submerge their identity in a service which was a part of the National Army. There was an estate called Sandricourt, with a chateau, belonging to a rich American which had been used for this purpose by the Red Cross sections, but it was far to the north of Paris in the valley of the Oise, and I did not want to put all of my eggs in a basket so near the German lines. It was fortunate that I took this precaution because Sandricourt fell into the hands of the Germans early in the great offensive of the next spring. The question of this location brought out sharply the jealousy between the French Service of the front and the War Depart-

198. ment. Commander Doumenc wished to have the Base Camp within the area controlled by the Service of the Front, whereas the Service de Santé in Paris was equally insistent that it should be in the zone of the rear. After inspecting many proposed localities none of which were satisfactory either as to building or location I finally was fortunate enough to get a fine old abbey with abundant adjoining land at Ferrieres-Gatinlais near Montargis, in the valley of a lovely little river, the Loing, 90 kilometers south-southeast of Paris. The French Service de Santé had a reserve hospital in the fine old building, but were willing to turn it over to us in order to get ahead of the Service of the Front. The eight sections which had come from Allentown on 19 September arrived at Havre and I sent them down to St. Nazaire where were stored the 2,500 Ford ambulances and cars for the Service, with instructions to uncrate and assemble their own ambulances, and to loosen up the bearings by running each one for several hours with its wheels jacked up. In this way the men learned the construction of their vehicles and where spare parts belonged. Not much progress was made in this important work, however, because Colonel (afterwards Brig. General) Samuel D. Rockenbach, who was in charge of the unloading of the ships at St. Nazaire, and who was hard up for dock laborers, had seized upon my 500 young college men as a welcome reinforcement, and was using them as longshoremen. I accordingly went down there at the end of September to see if I could not pry them loose. Col. Rockenbach, whom I knew very well, showed me four great steamships anchored in the stream, each of which he said was drawing \$500 a day demurrage, but whose cargoes he had no men to unload. He said my ambulance men made the best and most intelligent workmen that he had. I told him that I appreciated his need, but did not think that my service was called upon to fill them. He was quite unmoved, however, by my arguments, so I called up the Headquarters L. of C. [Lines of Communication, later re-titled Services of Support] at Paris, and asked that an order be telegraphed to him to not make use of any member of my

199. command without my authority. This order came in a couple of hours and my men were released, but Col. Rockenbach was so indignant that he refused to dine with me that night. I found that many of the crates of our ambulances had been broken open and spare parts stolen, so as soon as the 440 vehicles needed for these sections were assembled, I arranged, not without many difficulties, to have the rest of the Fords sent by rail to the Base Camp at Gatinais, where they were stored and assembled as needed. The Quartermaster Department in the United States had not been as fore-handed as the Medical Department in getting their transportation, and such was the shortage of automotive vehicles in the A.E.F. at this time, that I had to yield to the urgent demands of the A.E.F. to the extent of giving 200 ambulances to the Quartermaster Department for the use of the divisions which were in cantonments, 100 to Colonel Winter for the Medical Service of the A.E.F., and 50 to the Signal Corps. I had to be generous to this extent for fear that they might appeal to General Pershing and get these and more by his order - in the picturesque language of General Ainsworth, I was willing to be seduced for fear of being raped.

The militarization of all the volunteer commands was completed on October 17th, 1917. The officers of the Field Service took their oaths of commission on October 10, A. Piatt Andrew as Major, and Bigelow and Gallati as Captains. The majority which had been set aside for the Norton-Harjes group and had been declined by Norton and his principal assistant, was given to Major Stelle of that Service. Major Andrew was placed at the head of the automobile supply and repair division of the Service, with his offices, repair shops and garage in Paris. At the same time he turned over to the Government all the transportation and spare parts owned by the American Field Service. As it was much desired by the French that all the cars of our Ambulance Service should be the light Ford cars, the heavy cars used by the Norton-Harjes group were turned over to the French.

On October 2nd my old friend Col. Henry B. Birmingham, M.C., arrived in

200. France. He went straight through Paris to Chaumont¹⁷ to see General Pershing, and it afterwards came out that his errand was as follows. He had been sent over by the Surgeon General to supersede Col. Bradley as Chief Surgeon, A.E.F., it being known that Colonel Bradley's health was not good. General Pershing, however, although he, as everyone else, had the highest regard for the "Old Soldier," told him that the Surgeon General had given him one Chief Surgeon contrary to his own preference, and now he refused to accept another. Colonel Ireland was his choice, and if there were any change, Col. Ireland should be the Chief Surgeon. Colonel Birmingham naturally felt very badly about this, and went off to England on some official errand on Oct. 7th. Soon after his departure news came from Washington that he had been made a Brig. General in the National Army which I promptly telegraphed to him to his great gratification. When he returned from England he made a trip of inspection along the British and French front, taking for the latter my aide, Lieut. Berl, whose knowledge of French was a great help to him and opened a way everywhere. He always afterwards, to the day of his death, cherished a warm affection for this accomplished officer.

On Dec. 20 the headquarter officers of the Ambulance Service together with our Quartermaster Dept. moved into permanent quarters at 47 Rue Ponthieu. A few days before, Jones, Berl, and myself had left the Hotel Regina, where we had been living, and took an apartment at 7 Rue Lalo in the western part of the city near the Bois. On the 10th I had given a dinner to Commander Doumenc and Col. Frank Parker at Lucas Café in which several important questions, which I had long urged, were decided. I was very anxious that the American Commanders of the Sections should be regarded as the Commanders by the French. Even after the militarization of the Service they had continued to regard the French officers on duty with the sections as the C.Os. and the American officers as Adjoints. I got him to agree to regard the American officers as C.Os. and the French officers as

¹⁷ Location of Pershing's headquarters

201. Adjoints; also, in the case of American officers who could speak French fluently, including all who took the course of the French Automobile School at Meaux, the French officers should be withdrawn. He agreed to withdraw them after the "coming great battle." I asked him when the "coming great battle" would be; his reply was, "probably next March." It seems, therefore, that the French knew that the Germans would make a great offensive nearly four months before it actually occurred. He agreed also that the French should use the American numbers of the sections.

About this time (December 10) I received a rather peremptory letter from General Headquarters at Chaumont stating that a number of men of my service had been seen in Paris in ragged and nondescript uniform, and directing me to see that they were all properly uniformed at once. I replied that nothing would give me greater pleasure and satisfaction than to carry out this order if I could get the uniforms, but that not a single article of uniform had been yet received from the requisition which had been sent in to the Chief Quartermaster and approved on September 1st. This probably hurried things up a little as the uniforms came as a Christmas gift.

During November and December I saw in Paris many old friends who were now generals commanding divisions in process of organization in the United States who had been sent over on a trip to get a look in at the actual conditions of the new warfare in France. Among these many good friends I enjoyed most perhaps seeing General Hunter Liggett, with whom I had served in Florida more than twenty years before when he was adjutant of the 5th Infantry. I always regarded him as an encyclopedia of the military art, and it pleased me to read many years afterwards in Capt. Liddell Hart's Military Reputations Ten Years After [sic. 'Military' was not in the title.] a fine tribute paid his knowledge and skill as a soldier. Another Division Commander who had come over was General Leonard Wood. He received a severe wound in a curious way. He

202. was with his two aides, Col. Kilbourne and Capt. Joyce, and several French officers, witnessing the firing of a Stokes mortar, when the bomb exploded in the mortar. He and both his aides were wounded and three French officers killed. General Wood told me he was knocked down by the head of one of them. Six pieces of the bomb went through his clothing, and he received a very severe flesh wound of the upper arm and armpit. Col. Kilbourne was struck in the forehead by a small splinter which penetrated the skull. Capt. Joyce had an arm broken. Gen. Wood was taken at once to the French evacuation hospital, and a debridement done on the large and jagged wound, which was then sewed up tight. When I saw him in Paris five days later he was up and dressed with his arm in a sling, and in another week was apparently well.

On the 31st there was a severe raid made on Paris by 21 Gotha airplanes,¹⁸ and they dropped 70 bombs, part high explosive and part incendiary. It was reported that 30 were killed and about 100 wounded. The nearest bomb to our apartment was on the Ave. de la Grande Armeé. I did not get up, and in fact Jones and Berl slept through the raid. I went next day to see the house on the Ave. de la Grande Armeé, four or five blocks away from our apartment; the entire front of the house, four or five stories high, was blown into the street.

Early in the new year I went with Ireland to a dinner given by Col. Richard Strong of Harvard to a group of distinguished British medical officers. Among them were Gen. Sir Bertrand Dawson, Gen. Thompson, and Col. Sir. Wm. Leishman. Sir William told me, to my great pleasure, that Col. Thos. H. Goodwin, who had been in Washington in the spring with the British mission and had asked for the six Base Hospitals, had been made Director General of the British Medical Service with the rank of Lieut. General. He was also knighted, and took with his new title the name of John instead of Thomas, so he has since been known as Gen. Sir John Goodwin.

¹⁸ A type of bomber

203. On February 11th I received orders relieving me from command of the Ambulance Service with the French Army, and ordering me to Tours as Chief Surgeon S.O.S. in place of Winter. The way this came about showed well his generous and unselfish nature. He and the Chief Surgeon (General Bradley) had been embarrassed to find appropriate duties for the senior colonels of the Medical Corps who were beginning to come overt most of whom would necessarily be on duty in the S.O.S., or Line of Communications, as it was then called. Winter wrote an official letter through the Commanding General of the S.O.S., General Kernan, stating the difficulty and proposing that I should be made Chief Surgeon, adding that he would be glad to serve as my assistant. General Kernan, who liked and admired Winter, naturally disapproved the proposition. Winter said nothing to me of this, but Bradley spoke to me of it when on a visit to Paris, but said that he could not leave Winter with me. I said that the job was a new and very complex one, and unless he would leave Winter to break me in, I had rather not have it, and asked him to hold it up, which he promised to do. Some weeks later, however, when it was proposed to send me to Rome temporarily with a military mission, seeing my name in the order reminded General Pershing of Winter's letter, and he directed that the order be issued for me to go to Tours. General Kernan, who was an old friend, sent me word that if I came quickly I could have the bedroom of the Adjutant General (Wilcox) who had just died, and which adjoined his room in the chateau and connected with the only bathroom. So I turned over to Percy L. Jones, M.C., the fine Ambulance Service which was now running smoothly, and had about 75 officers and 2,000 men in it, and was carrying from the firing line to the evacuation hospitals the wounded and sick of 56 French divisions, besides doing emergency work for the entrenched camps of Paris. Jones handled it smoothly and efficiently until the end of the war.

Bradley and Ireland came to Paris at this time on their way to Tours, and I took them down in my car on Sunday, February 17th. They returned to Paris next day,

204. and I took up my new duties. I went promptly with the French liaison medical officer, Majeur Hanotte, to call on the Medecin Chef of the IX Region, Med. Gen. Labit, who was very cordial and proposed, that we should go on an inspection trip together. So on February 23rd we three started off going first to the cantonments of the 41st Div., A.E.F., a replacement division¹⁹ at St. Aignan. Lieut. Col. Orville Brown was the Division Surgeon and showed us an excellent hospital filled with cases of mumps, of which there were 2,000 cases. Gen. Labit told me that the French troops suffered much from this disease in the first year, and that about 20% of them suffered atrophy of a testicle from metastatic inflammation. I am sure that this complication was not nearly so common in our troops. Then we went on to the great aviation camp at Issoudun where 4,500 student officers and men were learning to fly. There were many crashes and many graves in the cemetery there. Major Ralph Goldthwaite was the Surgeon there and was rapidly constructing a well arranged hospital. In the afternoon we reached the fine town of Chateauroux where Base Hospital No.9 was comfortably located in a new French group of brick buildings intended for an insane hospital, but not occupied when war came. A number of temporary wards had been added. This was the New York Hospital Unit, but the Director, Major C.L. Gibson, had returned home to take a teaching position in accordance with a general agreement which we had made with the parent institutions so as not to disrupt the medical schools upon mobilization. They obligated themselves to replace all medical officers called back home for this purpose. The Chief Surgeon of the A.E.F. knew nothing of this gentleman's agreement, and was disposed to turn down these applications until I explained it to him. Lieut. Colonel Tasker was Commanding Officer. It was an excellent hospital except that the kitchen was not clean. Gen. Labit was shocked to see that the kitchen and table scraps were thrown away, and at his earnest request I directed them to get some pigs.

On March 5th the Adjutant General, Col. Bash, told me that he had seen a cable

¹⁹ Early plans for the A.E.F. called for one division in every six to be a replacement division, training replacements for the units in the line.

205. from Washington to General Pershing authorizing him to appoint six medical brigadiers. Ireland told me later that the General had replied that he did not wish to do so until the medical officers had been tried out in actual war conditions. Meanwhile the engineers and the line were getting theirs by the dozen without waiting to be tried out in war. The only result as far as I was concerned was that I was jumped by men like Noble and Theodore Lyster, who were 15 years my junior in the service. McCaw, who arrived March 19th, never did get his B.G. until after the war.

The Salvage Depot at St. Pierre des Corps near Tours was one of the interesting sights. I saw 100,000 old shoes in one heap, 30 feet high, from which they turned out several hundred good pairs a day; 5,000 suits of underclothes made from discarded underwear which was washed and mended by French women were returned to the front for reissue daily.

On March 21st the office of the Chief Surgeon, and those of all the other services, Quartermaster, Ordnance, Engineers, Finance etc. were moved from General Headquarters at Chaumont to Tours as there was not room enough for them at the former small town. This brought Bradley (now a Brig. General), Ireland, McCaw, Fred Reynolds, Fisher, Glennan, Harmon, Fife, and other M.C.s, besides Dickson, the very efficient executive officer who looked after us all. My office then became absorbed in the Chief Surgeon's, and I became a Deputy Chief Surgeon, who took Ireland's desk when he was away and did routine matters. Bradley was a sick man and did no duty as Chief Surgeon of the A.E.F. after this move. He went to the south of France on sick leave and then in April went home. He was stripped of his National Army rank of Brig. General and reverted to Colonel on arrival in the U.S., a shameful treatment which was done also in the case of Gen. Alvord and other fine men who broke down from overwork in France.

On the day after the arrival of the Chief Surgeon's office, A.E.F., I went with General Kernan and his aide on an interesting inspection trip. We went down the valley of the Loire to St. Nazaire, stopping for various inspections en route. At Angers I inspected Base Hospital No.27, the Pittsburgh University Unit, of which

206. Major R.T. Miller was the Director, Major Royal Reynolds being the C.O. It was in a fine public building with many temporary wards for expansion. After lunch I went on to Nantes where I saw Base Hospital No.34, of which the Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia was the parent institution, and Dr. A.P.A. Ashurst was the Director; Lieut. Col. R.C. DeVoe was its C.O. Thence we proceeded to Savenay where was Base Hospital No.8 of which the New York Post Graduate Hospital was the parent institution, Major Samuel Lloyd the Director, and Major Wibb E. Cooper the C.O. This very important hospital had 1,000 beds and was being expanded to 2,000, and later grew to even greater proportions, as it was the hospital from which most shipments of wounded were made to the United States. Major Lloyd was not with the hospital, having been relieved by Colonel Winter on account of some personnel difficulties that occurred in the staff. He was sent to other duties of importance in Paris. Major Cooper, who soon became Lieut. Col., National Army,²⁰ was an excellent administrator who maintained this important post until the end of the war. I spent the night there while Gen. Kernan, who was feeling badly, went on to St. Nazaire where he stopped with Gen. Walsh commanding the base section. At St. Nazaire was Base Hospital No.101 commanded by Major Bowen. This had been organized in France by the Chief Surgeon and was officially known as Base Hospital No.1 when I arrived in August. Upon my explanation that the first fifty numbers had been preempted by the Red Cross Base Hospitals with parent institutions which I had organized, they changed the number to 101 so as to allow for 50 more base hospitals which the Surgeon General might organize later. The Base Surgeon was Lieut. Col. C.W. Foster, an able man who had very important responsibilities. On Friday the 24th we started north and visited the great artillery camp at Coetquidan in the heart of Brittany. There were two brigades of field artillery being trained under Gen. Chamberlin. Major Casper of our Corps was the Surgeon at the well-organized

²⁰ National Army rank was temporary wartime rank, while substantive rank in the Regular Army or National Guard could be several grades lower. It replaced brevet rank (as used in the Civil War) and was parallel to Army of the United States rank used in WWII.

207. and well-administered hospital. His personnel was drawn from other base hospitals not yet in operation. We spent the night at a little hotel at Quiberon on the tip of a long, narrow peninsula which projects into the ocean in a S.W. direction. Gen. Kernan had pleasant recollections of this hotel because in the autumn, being one of the Generals sent to France as observers, he had started home on a transport, and was recalled by a wireless when many miles at sea. The transport returned to Quiberon, which was the nearest land, and put him ashore in a small boat with his aide and his trunk. This peninsula and this part of Brittany were full of huge monuments erected by the Druids; how they were able to move and erect such enormous stones had never been discovered. Our next place of inspection was Brest. There the Navy had a R.C. Base Hosp. from a parent institution in Brooklyn, the Director being Dr. Brinsmade, and Med. Director Von Widdiken, U.S.N, was the C.O. The A.E.F. had taken over the French Naval Pontenzen Barracks on a high hill overlooking the city, and the medical hospital there was Camp Hospital No.33, Major Lockwood in command. It was being expanded with overcrowded wards, and many things lacking. I gave him an order to buy, in the city, bedding and towels which he needed for the sick and to send the bills to my office for approval and payment. Vose was the Base Hospital Surgeon at Brest. From Brest we went to Cherbourg, which had been taken over by the British for a base camp for 5,000 men. The British had also taken over the French hospital of 300 beds in part of a nunnery. It had no kitchens as the nuns had furnished food for the French patients. There were only two waterclosets in the whole hospital, and they were in the courtyard.

While we were at St. Nazaire we had heard rumors of the great German offensive, and of shells which were falling on Paris apparently from out of the sky. There was much mystery and speculation as to where these shells came from as the nearest point of the German lines was more than 70 miles away. The French called the mysterious gun which fired these shells "le canon a longue portee." It created

208. much excitement in Paris, and many of the inhabitants left the city. On Good Friday one of the shells hit a church, St. Germain des Pres, and killed many of the worshipers, mostly women. Several American women were among those killed. General Kernan received telegrams while at Brest and Cherbourg about the German offensive which made him more and more uneasy. We therefore started back to Tours on the 28th, and we made the 230 miles by five o'clock. The great German offensive which began on the 21st lasted over a month, and drove a deep wedge in between the English and the French in the region of St. Quentin over a broad front. Many wounded were arriving at Tours, where the French had a hospital, when we returned.

On April 3rd Ireland came into my office with a telegram in his hand, and followed by McCaw. He seemed much agitated and could not speak. I was greatly alarmed for fear of some ill news, and took the telegram out of his hand and read it. It was from Gen. Pershing stating that he had recommended him to be a Brig. General. Ireland's distress and agitation was due to the fact that he was to be promoted over McCaw and me, both of us much his seniors. We laughed at him and reassured him, and finally got him to realize that we were entirely content and pleased at his promotion which was richly deserved. The next morning Winter received a telegram and came in to apologize to us in like manner for what he considered the injustice of having been promoted over us. We told him, as we did Ireland, that Gen. Pershing was thinking of the future, and of the good of the service, and was rewarding the men who had done the best work for the A.E.F. Bradley told me afterwards that he had recommended that my name should be included, but General Pershing did not do so, having in mind doubtless my short service with the A.E.F., which I think was the only thing that counted in his mind. He did, however, recommend McCaw for a B.G. either at this time or very shortly afterwards. This recommendation for McCaw was renewed several times during his service in the A.E.F., but never received favorable action in Wash-

209. ington. Why he should have been passed over is a mystery which was never solved. His record was in every way as excellent as his ability. No unfavorable action was taken on it at the S.G.O., and in fact it apparently was never referred to that office. When I was in Washington just after the Armistice I made it my business to trace the matter, and found that like a number of others, it was traced to Gen. March's desk and disappeared, probably in his safe. My nomination was sent in not long afterwards, and was confirmed in time to be a birthday gift on June 26th, my birthday being the 27th.

The progress of building up an American Army in France seemed very slow to the French, as it did to us. On April 6th when we had been a year at war we had about 280,000 men in France, with only four divisions at the front taking part in the effort to stop the great German offensive. Other divisions were in training, and we were gradually building up in central France the organization of the S.O.S. which was to furnish an overseas base for our Army to supply it with everything needful. It is true that our divisions were very large, having each about 27,000 men, which was about double the strength of the divisions of the other great nations. These huge divisions were in fact small armies, and their unwieldy size was inconvenient in many ways.²¹

On April 9th Winter and I went on a most interesting inspection trip, going first to Nevers, which was the Headquarters of the Intermediate Section of the S.O.S., commanded by Col. Johnson, Colonel Ruffner being his Chief Surgeon. There we found a fine camp hospital which was manned by Hospital Unit S from the medical school of Vanderbilt University under Major Barr. Hospital Units, it should be explained, were medical units which I had organized at parent institutions which were not large enough to furnish the staff of complete base hospitals. They had usually a staff of 15 medical officers with the appropriate number of nurses and other personnel, and were exceedingly convenient units either to make camp hospitals or to expand Base Hospitals. 22 were organized under the Red Cross

²¹ See James W. Rainey, "Ambivalent Warfare: The Tactical Doctrine of the AEF in World War I," (Parameters, XIII:3, pp.34-46) and Timothy Nenninger, "American Military Effectiveness in the First World War" (in Military Effectiveness, vol. I, The First World War, Boston, 1988) for discussion of AEF organization.

210. before war was declared. In Unit S we found a lot of wounded Englishmen who had come from a British division stationed in the Chemin des Dames front, which was considered a quiet sector until the Germans broke through in the great offensive of two weeks before. These Englishmen had been taken over from French auxiliary hospitals where they were unhappy because they could not speak the language and did not like the food. Major Barr was pleased to take them into his hospital, which was nearly empty, and the medical staff and nurses were happy to have some professional work to do. The Britons were the happiest lot of patients that I ever saw, and were loud in their praises of the professional attentions of the officers and nurses, and of the good food and comfortable beds.

From Nevers we went south about 15 kilometers to Mars where was being constructed a great hospital city for 10,000 patients. These great aggregations which had been unknown to our Army even in the Civil War were named hospital centers, and had to have all the public services of a city: sewers, streets, electric lights, and a branch railroad with a station. The latter was really the first thing to be constructed as upon it most of the material for the buildings had to be transported. Of course paved roads for the trucks had to be made at the same time. Col. George A. Skinner, M.C., later commanded this hospital center, which embraced five base hospitals Nos.14, 35, 48, 62, and 68. The next day we went north to Cosne on the Loire, stopping halfway to see the progress of another hospital city, Mesves, which was later commanded by Col. Wm. J. Moncrief, which contained base hospitals Nos.44, 50, 54, 67, 87, and 89. It was at this time just spreading over the vineyards on a rolling plain. Six months later it was completely built, and had a population, patients, staff, and attendants of 27,000.

It always seemed to me both inappropriate and most unjust that the officer commanding so large a number of men, and responsible for the welfare of so great

211. an aggregation should not have the rank of Brigadier General. He was only one of many colonels in his command, and lacked the prestige that superior rank would have given him. Such was the fear of our General Headquarters of having too many medical generals that none of these hospital centers were in command by an officer higher than the grade of colonel.

At Cosne we found a great Medical Depot which had been built up under Lt. Col. Mount, M.C., by the energy and administrative ability of Winter. This depot was already well organized and prepared to make shipments to the front or to the base hospitals in either direction. Mount was rapidly building additional storehouses and expanding his depot which, by its excellent organization and central location, was able to meet the calls that were made upon it.

This inspection trip, which took four days, was one of a number of most interesting and agreeable inspection trips which Winter and I took together during the month of April before Winter received his promotion and was sent off in haste to England to remedy the very unsatisfactory medical conditions which were reported in the hospital situation in England. One other trip which took us to Dijon, the old Capital of Burgundy, should be mentioned because of its interest. When our Commanding General (Kernan) heard Winters and myself planning it at breakfast he said, much to our surprise and pleasure, "Why don't you invite me to go along, I want to inspect Dijon myself, and also wish to see what you medical people are doing?" I told him that we would be delighted, especially if he took us in his big Cadillac car. We went by way of Cosne where Gen. Kernan was greatly pleased and impressed with the immense accumulation of medical stores and their arrangements for handling them. At Dijon we stopped at the fine hotel of Cloches, famous for its Burgundy wines and good table. There we inspected Siler's fine army laboratory and Base Hospital 17 from the Harper Hospital, Detroit, of which Major Angus McLean was Director and Chief of the Surgical Service, and Major Coburn C.O. We found both of these institutions to be in fine condition.

212. From Dijon we inspected the two hospital centers of Baune and Allerey, both of which were then under construction, but two months later were full of patients. Allerey later contained five base hospitals under Col. J.H. Ford, M.C., and Baune four under Col. C.C. Manly, M.C.

On May 1st we heard that General Bradley and a number of other Brig. Generals had been ordered back to the United States. We also were made very happy by the news that Ireland had been made Chief Surgeon of the A.E.F., of which position he had been long carrying the principal responsibilities. He was at the same time ordered to go to England to look into the medical affairs there and to attend to some Red Cross matters.

PROMOTIONS IN THE MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS.

Early in May General Ireland asked me to take up and study a scheme of promotion for the Medical Reserve officers, a matter which was becoming more and more urgent. The A.E.F. had been in France more than a year, and in that time no promotions had been made in France, and the highest Reserve officers had only the rank of major. In a list of promotions recommended by the Chief Surgeon in April, consisting of partly Regular officers and partly of Medical Reserve officers, the latter being men of distinguished professional standing who were performing important duties, the Regulars were all recommended for promotion, but all promotions of the Reserve officers disapproved, including such men as Finney and Thayer.

On talking the matter over with Gen. Kernan (who had as keen, logical, and intelligent a mind as any in the Army), he stated that he was unwilling to start in with the recommendation of promotions until a system should be devised which would give each man a chance for promotion according to his abilities and responsibilities whether he should be personally known to the Chief Surgeon or not. Until this was done, he said, the man who was personally unknown to the Chief Surgeon and his assistants had no chance however great his merits might be. I had a very poor opinion of the working value of elaborate systems where men were given numerical valuations for a great number of mental, moral, and physical

213. qualities, and these were brought together to determine the rating of the individual for promotion. A system of this sort might work fairly well in time of peace in the Regular Army where the record of an officer during years included the estimates made of him by a large number of superior officers and errors of bias or misjudgment on the part of one would be corrected by the other estimates. It was a scheme of this sort which the War Department in Washington undertook to carry out in the World War, and under which I found one of our ablest officers, Col. R. Boyd Miller, hopelessly submerged when I came back to Washington after the Armistice. It was perfectly clear to me that no such scheme would work for temporary officers in time of war. The answer to General Kernan's demand was promotion by a roster, and the question was to find a formula simple enough to be easily built up for each man, and yet substantially just, according to which names could be arranged in an order of merit for each grade. It seems that if I could get reports for each individual from his immediate superiors with regard to three factors we might make out a card which would give a man his appropriate place in the roster. As the basic qualification for a Medical Officer is his professional experience, and this, in a general way, corresponds to his age, this age would be put down as Factor 1. The second factor was the length of his active service in the Army, which determined his military experience. The third was the character of his military service, whether it had been distinguished by efficiency and devotion to duty, or the reverse. A report was prepared, therefore, which would state perfectly these facts. Two or three lines were left for the addition of remarks as to any special merits, professional qualifications, or distinguished merit. These reports, which covered only one side of a sheet of official letter paper, were called for either from medical officers having other medical officers under them, or for senior medical officers from their line commanders. From this report a card was made out on each. To the first factor, his age, was added the second factor, his active service, multiplied by 4. The third qualification was given a numerical value in the office of the Chief Surgeon between 1

214. and 5, according to the merit of the candidate, as judged from the record. In cases of special excellence, either professional or in administrative ability, or as indicated by decorations, a special service factor might be added to this. This did not usually exceed the integer 4 in value. The result of these added together made the figure of merit which determined the candidate's place on the roster.

In the year that we had been at war nothing had been done to provide for promotions of medical personnel in the A.E.F., and while the S.G.O. was busy making promotions at home, they showed no very great concern for the medical personnel in France. The situation was still worse with our medical officers with the British, approximately 1,000 in number, many of whom were doing very arduous and dangerous service with units at the front. Not only were the repeated recommendations of their British superior officers for their advancement disregarded, but no adequate arrangements were made for paying them, so that they suffered cruel inconvenience, and had to borrow from their British comrades the money to pay their mess bills. Our A.G.O. at Chaumont added to the confusion by failure to refer to the Chief Surgeon at Tours the correspondence relating to them. This ill-treatment of the medical "Lost Legion" with the British is perhaps the worst blot in the fine story of our medical service in the World War. As regards the responsibility for it, I can only say that the Chief Surgeon's Office at Tours was not to blame, and when our attention was called to it by a personal letter to me from our liaison officer with the British, Gen. Harte, we did all we could to relieve them.

But to return to the question of medical promotions in France (which for the next year was the question uppermost in my mind), the situation became more and more acute as the spring advanced, and hundreds of Medical Reserve officers came over who had been promoted in the United States, and by virtue of their rank took charge of activities that they knew nothing about, over the heads of our trained

215. men who were in many cases their seniors in age and length of service. So Gen. Ireland sent to G.H.Q. in April a letter containing two lists which he recommended for promotion. One was a list of 32 regular lieut. colonels and 40 regular majors; the other list, of Medical Reserve officers, recommended two promotions to Colonel (Finney and Thayer) and 22 majors to lieut. col. These were the leaders of the medical profession in America and included such names as Brewer, Crile, Harvey Cushing, Goldthwait, Roger Lee, Fred Murphy, Peck, Salmon, and Hugh Young. The regulars, comparatively young men, were all approved, but all the Medical Reserve officers were disapproved. We were much upset, and Gen. Ireland, to avoid the bad effect which this discrimination would cause, asked that the promotion of the regulars be held up until the Reserve officers could be promoted also. The promotions of the latter were finally secured on June 6th, and we were informed by a cable received by us June 12th. The two chief Consultants, Finney and Thayer, did not get their Brig. Generalcies until about the 1st of October, about the same time that Noble was given the Major Generalcy intended by Congress for the Chief Surgeon, A.E.F. The lists had to be cabled to Washington for action, as authority to make promotions subject to approval in Washington was not given to the Commander in Chief, A.E.F., until August 22nd, but in June he gave his approval in principle to the scheme of promotion by roster, and we had hopes that our troubles were at an end. But it turned out that they had only begun, for no action could be obtained, only promises and excuses. One obstacle after another was raised, and when each was removed another was found. It began to look as if we were up against a system of obstruction. When the matter of promotions was put in Gen. Pershing's hands by G.O.78, W.D., Aug. 22, 1916, we sent new copies of all the lists forwarded during the summer, expecting immediate action. To our amazement and disgust we were confronted by the statement of the personnel division that the Commander in Chief was authorized to make promotions only when there was a vacancy and as there

216. was no approved Table of Organization for the Medical Department, there was no evidence that we had any vacancies! We hastened to reply that as the law provided that the number in each grade of the Medical Reserve Corps should be in the same proportion as in the regular Corps, the number of vacancies could easily be found by taking the number in each grade in France and subtracting it from the number to which we were entitled under the law. The personnel division, General Headquarters, then objected that the Surgeon General might run over his quota in each grade, and some agreement would be necessary between him and the Chief Surgeon on this point. Gen. Gorgas happened to be in France on a trip of inspection at this, time, and Gen. Ireland saw him in Paris and obtained Gen. Gorgas's signature to this agreement. I also informed the personnel division at G.H.Q. that the S.G.O. sent us a weekly report of strength of medical officers by grades against which we could check for additional security against overrunning the authorized allowance in any grade, and a tabular statement was enclosed showing them that we had on Sept. 23rd vacancies in the entire Army as follows: colonels, 620; lieut. cols., 707; majors, 3859; and captains 6,275, and so the danger of overrunning our legal proportion in any grade was purely imaginary. The Chief of Staff and Commanding General S.O.S. backed us up in these statements, yet we could not get Gen. Julius Penn, then Chief of the Personnel Division at G.H.Q. to see it. To make a resume of the steps in this sad story:

The Roster System of Promotion was

Formulated in April-May

Approved by Gen. Kernan May 20

Approved by the Commander in Chief June 28

Approved again after the President's Gen. Order of Aug. 9

by Gen. Harbord, C.G., S.O.S., Aug. 22

by Commander in Chief Aug. 26

217. In a letter to Major Basil D. Edwards, Personnel Div. G.H.Q., dated Sept. 11, 1918, I said,

We have been sending in lists of recommendations for promotion under this scheme since the 15th of June, but the summer has gone and, so far as this office knows, not a single lieutenant or captain has yet been promoted, nor have the majors recommended on June 15.

Armies are organized by gradations in rank. To get experienced men in these grades we must have promotions. The thing is vital to army efficiency, and yet seems to be regarded as a favor which is demanded for individuals instead of being an urgent necessity of military organization.

The promotions of the lieutenants and captains are for the Medical Department the most urgent. There are 2,500 vacancies in the grade of captain, and 2,500 medical officers who have given up their practices and are trying to support their families on the pay of a 1st Lieutenant with very indifferent success, feel that what the law has allowed them is being withheld for some reason that they cannot imagine.

Each one of these men has a legitimate grievance against the administration of the army which makes him discontented and impairs his usefulness. There are more than 1,200 vacancies in the grade of major which are being withheld from a like number of captains, each of whom has the same feeling...

Such was the status when I left for the United States with Gen. Ireland who was ordered back to the United States to take up the position of Surgeon General succeeding Gen. Gorgas. As soon as he reached Washington he had a cable sent to Gen. Pershing which brushed aside all the cobwebs from the brains of the personnel division, and set in motion the long dammed up stream of promotions. Winter, who had taken over from me the handling of the matter of promotions, at once pushed through a large batch of them as fast as G. H. Q. would handle them. But in less than a week, and long before all the pending cases were acted on, came the Armistice, and with it the order from Washington putting a stop to all promotions. It is difficult to find words to adequately characterize the cruel stupidity of

218. this order as far as the A.E.F. was concerned. The neglect of promotions had been general in the Army below the grade of Brig. General, though perhaps nowhere else quite as bad as in the medical service. But in the line everywhere there were companies commanded by lieutenants, battalions by captains, and regiments by majors. Everywhere were wounded and sick men who also had earned their promotions and were discharged without getting it. These men were held in France under discipline, and made to drill in cold and rain and mud for several months, while those in the United States were being discharged and returning to their families and their business. This was done to save the small difference in pay incidental to promotion, a matter of no consequence in the vast expenditures of the war, but which was the cause of much bitterness and discontent. It cannot be doubted that it was an important factor in the popular wave of disapproval which overwhelmed president Wilson and the Democratic administration in 1920, and caused also much resentment against General Pershing, which required a decade to dissipate.

RECTIFYING PROMOTION. One list of promotions in which I took a keen interest was sent up to G.H.Q. It was a list of excellent doctors of middle age who had come to France early, with the original rank of 1st Lieutenant, originally given them when they entered the M.R.C., and which was at that time the only grade. When the higher grades of captain and major were authorized (I think in 1915) these men who were all over 40 years should have been made captains or majors, but the personnel division S.G.O. was very dilatory in doing it. I have already mentioned my difficulties with the S.G.O. in getting the proper grades for the Directors and Chiefs of Services in the Base Hospitals that I was organizing in 1916 and 1917. The above mentioned men, when the opportunity came to go to France, did not stay back to dicker with the S.G.O. for majorities, but came supposing, as we all did, that their promotions would follow them in due time. When this hope was disappointed and men much their juniors in age and experience, in some cases their former pupils, began to come over in increasing numbers they naturally felt ag-

219. grieved and indignant. So it was a list of these men, so far as we could get track of them, that was sent up on July 9, 1918 recommended for promotion from lieutenant to major, jumping the grade of captain.

An official letter was sent to Washington through G.H.Q. explaining why it was important for these men to jump the grade of captain, and why they were called "rectifying promotions." At the same time I wrote a personal letter to Noble explaining the whole matter and that the Surgeon General owed this to these men as a matter of common justice. Yet when the list arrived in Washington, no one in the S.G.O. seemed to understand what a "rectifying promotion" was, and they were allowed captaincies only. So in the course of time they were made to take off their major's gold leaves, and put on captains' bars, and were called upon to repay to the United States the difference in pay. Their indignation may be imagined. I was amused to read in the Army and Navy Register of Feb. 23, 1924, an account of how one of these officers, Major Elmer R. Royer, had been sick in the hospital when the Adjutant General cabled Gen. Pershing on Nov. 21, 1918, that Elmer R. Royer was a captain, not a major, and should resume the rank of captain. Being absent sick he did not get the notice until Feb. 19, 1919, and meanwhile on Feb. 16 had been again promoted to major. When mustered out of the service in August 1919 he was called on to refund the difference in pay for four months, which was deducted from his final pay. He brought suit against the government for this sum, and on Jan. 28, 1924, was awarded it by the Court of Claims.

There is a final chapter to this story of Medical Reserve promotions which I will tell here although it is a little out of the order of my narrative. When I was with General Ireland in December 1918 he saw General March, the Chief of Staff, about the matter, and got a promise from him that he would cable to Gen. Pershing authorizing him to reopen the promotions for M.R.C. officers. On Dec. 19th I persuaded General Ireland to go again to Gen. March as I had a suspicion that Gen.

220. March had not sent the cable. March admitted that he had not done so, but authorized Ireland to go and see the Secretary, which he did. Later hearing the whole story Secretary Baker said that he would send a cable authorizing Pershing to speak to the President (he was then in Paris) about it. Ireland then cabled to Gen. Finney, who was personally known to the President, to go and see him and explain the matter to him. Finney did so, and the President authorized Gen. Pershing to reopen the promotions in the A.E.F., not only for the Medical Department, but for the line and other branches. I went back to France in January 1919 to take the place of Winter who was very anxious to go home, and so had the pleasure of obtaining the promotion of many hundreds of deserving M.R.C. officers, though by no means all who should have been promoted. It happened that during the demobilization there was such moving around of troops in France that it was difficult to reach officers through the mails. Thus many medical officers who were promoted sailed from France before they received the notice and had an opportunity to accept the promotion. All these officers for whom no acceptance was filed in France had their promotions revoked, an action which seemed utterly unnecessary and unjust. One curious fact which came out in the question of promotions, as in other ways, was the difficulty with which officers of the regular army had in realizing that many requirements of regulations for the regular army had no application to a war army of temporary officers and men. One of these was a physical examination for promotion. The Adjutant General's office in Washington continued to stick in these requirements for the promotion of temporary officers, although a little thought would have shown that it had no application to men who, when they were disabled, were sent home and discharged. It was most difficult in France, where everything was on the move, to get these physical examinations made. Also, a more serious matter was that men who had earned their promotion could not get it if they were disabled either by wounds or disease. Napoleon always gave preference in promotions to men who had been wounded in battle, but by the stupidity of

221. the War Department it was made a disqualification. I saw, while inspecting a base hospital in England with Gen. Ireland, one of our medical officers, a lieutenant in his thirties, who had lost his leg between the knee and the ankle from a shell wound. He was going home to be discharged, and told Gen. Ireland the only thing he wanted was to be made a captain, yet this had to be denied him because of the foolish requirement that a man had to be physically fit to be promoted.

The life at Tours during the spring and summer of 1918 was a very busy one, but the hard work was relieved by many excitements and agreeable experiences. Among these none were more pleasant or more instructive than the tours of inspection. On May 22nd Gen. Kernan took me on a long trip of inspection to the south, Colonel Smither being the third in the party. We followed first the route which I had taken with the old French General Labet in February, and after we left Chateau Roux, where we saw B.H. No.9 and a number of ordnance activities, we went up into the high mountainous area of central France where was an artillery school at La Courtine. We had a brigade of field artillery training there. Several regiments of Russians had been stationed there the year before, and after Russia went Bolshevik they established a little Soviet of their own, and refused to take any orders from the French, or from their own officers. The French sent up a regiment of infantry with some artillery, and when they declined to surrender opened on them with field guns. Although they were in massive stone barracks which might have held out for a long time, they had very little food and soon surrendered at discretion. The French sent them to Algiers where they were put to work.

At Limoges we inspected Base Hospital No.24 which was organized in New Orleans by Dr. Matas from Tulane Medical School. He, however, was unable to leave home for personal reasons, and Major J.B. Elliott, the Chief of the Medical Service, became the Director, and brought it over. One of our young Majors,

222. McBrayer, was the Commanding Officer. It was comfortably located in the great china factory of the Haviland Company. They had the best kitchen I have ever seen in an array in which the cooks were expert Frenchmen from New Orleans, and very proud of their skill. Major Elliott stayed with this hospital during the entire campaign and brought it back to New Orleans, where he is the leading internist in the city, doing a consultant practice. We then went on to Bordeaux where we saw the vast system of docks and warehouses which the Americans had built with wonderful rapidity and solidity. They are, I believe, still in use by the French. In the suburbs was located Base Hospital No.6 from the Massachusetts General Hospital of which Col. Fred C. Washburn was both the Director and C.O. who brought it over. It was located in a Chateau in a beautiful park. The French had stipulated that the trees should not be cut down so that Washburn had to build his temporary wards here and there where he could find space without felling trees. These scattered buildings were united by long covered corridors which excited the great indignation of Gen. Connor, then Colonel, and Chief of G-4 [i.e. chief of logistics and supply], because he considered them a great waste of lumber. It was said that he ordered the relief from command of Col. Washburn, but fortunately that able officer had been already carried off to England to be General Winter's assistant. Col. Babcock was at this time in command of Base Hospital No.6. South of Bordeaux was being constructed a great hospital center called Beau Desert intended for 10,000 beds. It, however, was never completed to that extent, and had, I think, only three Base Hospitals including No.5, which was, however, some miles distant, and No.22 from Milwaukee. Bordeaux is an ancient and very interesting city containing a number of buildings dating from Roman times.

From Bordeaux we went south along the great military highway built by Napoleon I to Bayonne, said to be the place where the bayonet was first invented and used. Like most of the French cities it had a beautiful old cathedral, and I was interested to see in the keystone of the arches 60 feet above the floor of the nave, the English

223. coat of arms in bright colors on each. I asked the sexton why the British coat of arms was there. His reply was, "They put it there when they built the cathedral; this was all British territory 600 years ago." I had forgotten that the territories of the Plantagenets extended so far south. We went on to Biarritz where the Red Cross had a fine convalescent home for sick officers in the sumptuous Hotel Regina. On our return we followed the coast beyond Bordeaux up by Saintes and La Rochelle. We found the 35th Engineers near Rochelle assembling locomotives, and living under miserable conditions in a building constructed originally for a railroad station. The Colonel, who was quite a disciplinarian, had a black hole without light or air, in which he confined men for punishment. When the General commented somewhat sharply upon it, he said, yes, that General Scott and the Medical Department had been after him about his black hole, but it had to be pretty bad in order to be worse than the barracks. On our return to Tours, May 31, I found a large mail in which was a note from the C-in-C like those that Ireland and Winter had received a month before telling me that he had nominated me for B.G.

June was an exciting month due to the third great effort of the Germans since they began their offensive in March. This time they broke through the French lines on both sides of Rheims, and pursued them all the way to the Marne. It began to look as if Paris was doomed, and the French began to make preparations for the abandonment of the city. Gen. Pershing was now able to put the four American divisions into the front line, and the magnificent fight put up by the Second and Third Divisions at Chateau Thierry finally put a stop to the German advance, and thrilled us, as it did all France. The stock of the Americans as fighting men rose 100% in one week. We had need of this encouragement, and the French even more as the Germans had published a list of their captures from the Allies between March 21 and June 30 as follows:

224. From the British, 94,939 including 4 generals and 3,100 officers; from the French, 89,099, including 2 generals and about 3,100 officers; also 24,476 cannon and 15,000 machine guns. The number of the Allied killed was unknown, and their own losses they did not state.

Col. Percy Jones, who had my old command, the Ambulance Service, had at this time 30 sections, of which 15 were immediately under his command in Paris and at the base camp at Ferriere. He sent these sections out to rescue the wounded of the Second and Third Divisions, as we had no evacuation hospitals near Paris, although one was hastily organized with the help of the Red Cross at Jouy-Sur-Morin. He brought many of the wounded all the way from Chateau Thierry into Paris to the American hospital where the surgeons were horrified to see their patients arrive with only old first aid dressings on them, covered with dust and blood. They had not been accustomed to seeing the harsh conditions of an evacuation hospital at the front. Much harsh and undeserved criticism of our medical service was the result. This is an interesting, but a long story, which cannot be given here, but has been already told in the Military Surgeon, Vol. 56, April 1925, p. 473.

About the middle of July I was ordered up to Chaumont. On July 13 Gen. Hagood, the Chief of Staff, showed me a report of an English veterinary officer, who was a liaison officer at our headquarters of the Remount and Veterinary Service in the S.O.S. It was an appalling example of inefficiency. 70% of our horses at our remount depots were sick, and 56% had infectious diseases. At one depot with an average number of 2,000 horses, 458 had died in one month.* This mismanagement was due to the influence of a Staff Officer at G.H.Q., who did not like to have the Remount Service under trained veterinary officers, and had an order issued from Chaumont taking it away from the control of the Medical Department, and putting it entirely under the command of the Q.M.D. During the next month when Gen. Harbord came to Tours the Remount Service was transferred back to the Medical Department, arrangements were immediately made to have sick calls for horses, and

* The Veterinary Service was authorized in 1916, but nothing was done about it in the S.G.O. Major Raymond Briggs came over to the A.E.F. with Major Hill, Vet. Corps, but Col. Logan got hold of it and switched the control to Q.M. Dept. Major Briggs was ignorant of military administration, and the story is told that he sent in a requisition for Vet. supplies written on toilet paper. Major Thompson, V.C., who came over later, took hold about Sept. and accomplished wonders in the way of improvement. He was, however, summarily relieved about Nov. 1st and Col. Merchant put in charge. The reason for this injustice I do not know.

[Note in BG Kean's writing: Gen. Ireland's emendation.]

225. separate the sick from the well, also for the proper treatment of the infectious diseases. From that time on the conditions rapidly improved until they approximated the excellent conditions in the British Veterinary Service.

About the middle of July three of us from the H.Q. mess who had been promoted at the same time went to Chaumont for the very strict physical examination which was then required for promotion. Finney, Thayer, and Keller were on the Board, and I thought that they showed a very uncomfortable amount of interest in my lame knee. However, as I was able to get around quite actively at that time, and could travel as far in an automobile as any other General, this disability was finally waived. From Chaumont I went up to Neufchateau, where I lived all the Consultants for the Army, ruled over with benevolent firmness by Keller. Col. Alex. N. Stark, who was then Chief Surgeon of the First Army, was there also, and billeted me in Col. Finney's room as he was absent on an inspection. I had a chance there to see the great hospital center at Bezoilles where there were five or six base hospitals under Col. E.A. Dean. One of these was the celebrated Johns Hopkins University Base Hospital No.18 which Finney had brought over. Among the others were two other Medical Reserve Base Hospitals, Nos.42 and 46.

On July 28 Gen. Kernan got a mysterious order relieving him from command of the S.O.S. and ordering him to go to Berne in Switzerland on a diplomatic mission which was to arrange for the care and exchange of prisoners. This was a great shock to us all, and we could not understand it as things had been going very well under Gen. Kernan. He was succeeded by Gen. Harbord who had been Gen. Pershing's Chief of Staff until the 1st of May when he went, at his own request, to take a command at the front. He was, much to his disgust, snatched away from the command of the Second Division just after the great and victorious drive with the First and the French Morocco division toward Soissons which penetrated the right flank

226. of the Germans and threatened the rear of their entire line along the Marne.²² This victory on July 19 was the turning of the tide. The Germans fought thereafter on the defensive, and lost ground steadily until the Armistice. It was saddened for me by the loss of a young Marine officer, Capt. Allen M. Sumner, who was the husband of my niece, and to whom I was much attached. He had met and courted his wife at my house in Cuba in the Second Intervention.

The news of the battle of St. Mihiel on Sept. 13, Gen. Pershing's birthday, was received at our headquarters mess with great rejoicing, as it was the first independent operation of an American Army in this war.²³ Preparations had been made for the care of 15,000 wounded, but the German resistance was less stubborn than was anticipated, and our casualties were less than one-third of that number, while it was reported that we had captured 20,000 prisoners. Immediately after this good news Gen. Harbord started on an inspection trip in a special train which carried on a flat car two automobiles for side trips. We went first to Bordeaux, then to the Spanish border where I was interested to stand on the bank of the little river which separates France from Spain, and see an island in it on which Louis XIV had erected a pavilion in which he had married the Infanta of Spain. Neither of the high contracting parties was willing to cross the border before the ceremony. We returned by Clermont-Ferrand where, at Royat, we saw B.H. #30 from the University of California. Major E.S. Kilgore was the Director and C.O. He had 1,250 patients distributed in a group of summer hotels and had received a train load of wounded from St. Mihiel the day before. He had also received many patients evacuated from the Red Cross Hospitals in Paris which he told me had been much spoiled and were a fussy lot. We had to hasten back to meet Sec. of War Baker and Gen. Gorgas who arrived in Tours Sept. 21st. Gen. Gorgas, carefully chaperoned by Col. Furbush, dined at the medical mess. We had a very pleasant evening, but no allusion was made to the fact that a new Surgeon General was due to be appointed

²² On the Battle of Soissons, see Douglas V. Johnson II and Rolfe L. Hillman, Jr., Soissons 1918 (1999, Texas A&M University Press).

²³ On the Battle of St. Mihiel, see James H. Hallas, Squandered Victory: The American First Army at St. Mihiel (1995, Prager).

227. two weeks from that date.

The most interesting of all my trips was one to our Army at the front on September 25 to see the working of our Evacuation Hospitals at the jump-off of the great attack which opened the Meuse-Argonne offensive the next day. I spent the night at the Evacuation Hospital #6, C.O. Col. Frank Baker, which with E.H. #7 occupied the buildings of a former French H.O.E. (pronounced by them Ash-o-way) at Souilly near Verdun. Bishop Brent, Chief Chaplain, A.E.F., went with us. Next morning we arose at daybreak and were on our way by seven. Visited that day the following hospitals in a general line from east to west along behind the front: E.H. #4, Hallet, C.O., at Vadelainecourt; E.H. #9, Turnbull, C.O., at Vaubecourt, E.H. #11, Duval, C.O., at Brizeaux; E.H. #10, Worthington, C.O., at Froidos; Mobile Hosp. #4, C.O., Crile, at Vilers; Mobile Hosp. #2, St. John, C.O. at Ricourt; A.R.C. Hosp. #114, McCoy, C.O., at Fleury; E.H. Hosp. #3, DeForest, C.O., also at Fleury. The wounded were just beginning to come in, and everything was ready to work finely. We saw Stark, Bevans, Garcia, Lyle, Harvey Cushing, Keller, and a lot of other well-known medical officers. Next morning we left Souilly again before seven, and went by Fleury where Ireland wanted to see Finney, and then started back to Chaumont, and from there home. Although it was Saturday night, Ireland seemed to be determined to get back to Tours that night, but about 11 P.M. our chauffeur went to sleep at the wheel and only a shout from Ireland prevented him from running us into a tree. The poor man was evidently exhausted so I insisted that we stop at the next town, which was Blois, to spend the night.

On October 10 Ireland and I had a conference with Finney and Thayer about a list of promotions to the grade of lieut. colonel and colonel which had been returned from G.H.Q. for medical certificates of fitness, and to which we wished to add a number of names which these two Chief Surgeons had noted for promotion. On that day came the news of the promotion to B.G. of Finney, Thayer, and Glennan, and of Noble to Major Gen. in the Medical Dept. This latter was with a view to

228. his assignment as Chief Surgeon, A.E.F., in place of Ireland, who had been appointed Surgeon General although we did not know it at that time. McCaw's name was not on this list although he had been recommended at the same time with Glennan. Gen. Pershing at once sent a cable renewing the recommendation for McCaw as B.G. and saying that he did not want Noble as Chief Surgeon. Noble came over nevertheless, accompanied by quite a retinue, and was greatly surprised to find that McCaw was Chief Surgeon and that he, a Major Gen., was assigned to a subordinate position as Chief Surgeon of the Base Section #2 at Bordeaux. He took the place of Col. Henry Shaw who came to the office to take McCaw's place at the head of the Medical Division. Gen. Ireland wanted me to go back to Washington with him to be his principal assistant, so it was decided that Winter should come over from England to take my place. Ireland and I left Tours Oct. 12 for London. We spent only a week in England, and a very busy one, rushing around to inspect our Base Hospitals there. We saw B.H. #29 (Col. Ames C.O.) at Tottenham, B.H. #37 from King's Co. Hospital, Brooklyn (Director and C.O. Lt. Col. Edwin H. Fiske); B.H. #40 at Sarisbury Court from Lexington, Ky. (Director and C.O. Lt. Col. Barrow); B.H. #33, from Albany, N.Y., C.O. Maj. Corning. The Director of this hospital, Lt. Col. W.A. Elting, was absent at the front at the head of an operating team. It contained 1,800 patients and was in excellent condition. The day after our arrival (14th) we called on Lieut. Gen. Sir John Goodwin, Director Gen. of the British Army Medical Service. He was the same Goodwin who had accompanied the British mission to Washington and had asked for the Base Hospitals. He was delighted to see us and gave us a charming little dinner that night at the Army Club. Next day we went to Oxford and spent the day with Sir Wm. Osler, a most delightful experience. We sailed Oct. 21st from Southampton which was the shipping point for our troops to France. Lieut. John T. Henry was in charge of the transport service there, and had command of thirty steamers and eleven officers under him although only a 1st Lieut. Evidently the Medical Dept. was not the only one which suffered from the lack of

229. promotion of good men. We wrote a letter to Gen. Atterbury at Tours recommending his promotion. When we boarded our steamer and opened our bags, which had been sent on to Southampton and stored there for a day or two, we found that they had been opened and robbed in storage. Most of my underclothes were gone and a few gifts that I was taking home. Our voyage to New York was uneventful, except that we both picked up influenza. I had a temperature of 104, and was hardly able to dress to go ashore, but said nothing for fear of being held up by the Ship Surgeon. We were met by Gen. Kennedy and my brother-in-law, Dr. Faneuil S. Weisse, who took charge of me and carried me off to his apartment to be put to bed. He told me that the hospitals in New York were full of influenza patients, and nurses were difficult to obtain, so we took with us a fine nurse, Miss Wilson, who had come across with us, and who took admirable care of me during my illness. She was well known to both Dr. and Mrs. Weisse. Gen. Ireland's attack was less severe. Kennedy looked after him until he was able to go to Washington, but he did not stay in bed long enough and was very miserable for several weeks. I got up on Armistice Day, and two days later went on to Washington where I arrived on the evening of the 13th, weak and miserable, but happy to be home. Ireland came to see me that evening, and told me of his first interview with the Sec. of War. The Secretary seemed kindly and well disposed, in spite of the fact Ireland was not his candidate. He told him, however, that he did not want Kean to be on duty in the War Dept. or in Washington, but authorized Ireland to send me to any other station that he wished. Ireland was much mortified at having to tell me this news, but in view of my former relations with the Secretary I was not at all surprised, and told him that I wanted to go back to France to resume my old duty at Tours. This fitted in very well as I could replace Winter who had written to Ireland that he was very anxious to get home. I obtained leave for the month of December as I was not really fit for work, and as Ireland was anxious to have me around for a while.

Of his great success in arranging for the reopening of promotions in the A.E.F.

230. not only in the Medical Dept., but in the line and all branches, I have already told. One question which came up was the appointment of two Brigadiers in the Regular Medical Corps, these having been provided for in the Army Bill recently passed. Gen. Gorgas had written to me, and also told me personally that he thought these two positions should be held for the older medical officers who deserved promotion, but could not be made Surgeon Generals. It happened that McCaw and Kean were the two seniors who had four years to serve, and they were recommended by the Surgeon General and approved by the Chief of Staff. When our nominations were laid on the Secretary's desk, however, he struck out my name and put in that of Noble, although I was so much his senior that I had been Chief Surgeon of an Army Corps in the Spanish War before he entered the service. Gen. Gorgas told me at this time that he did not approve of Noble's appointment as a regular Brig. Gen. This nomination was held up by the Senate Military Committee until the expiration of that Congress on March 4th, 1919. The Senate Committee had a meeting in Feb. to consider the question of using the temporary buildings, which had been put up in front of the Union Station, for shell-shock cases, asking the Secretary, the Chief of Staff and the Surgeon General to attend and advise in this matter. Ireland told them that it was unnecessary because of the 2,500 cases of shell shock in the A.E.F. at the time of the Armistice over 2,000 recovered immediately after that date. The real object of the Committee as regards the Secretary and Chief of Staff was, however, to discuss the question of Noble's confirmation and find out why he was promoted over me. The Secretary praised Noble's services during the war, and the Chief of Staff hedged, but Ireland talked very plainly of the injustice of his promotion in the permanent corps over me, and the bad effect that it would have on the Medical Corps. Senator MacKellar, who was Noble's principal supporter, then objected to the confirmation of McCaw in order to bring his friends to the support of Noble and to have something to trade with in the Committee. However,

231. on the 4th of March McCaw and Noble were both given interim appointments, and this was the status of affairs when I returned from France in the following July. They were both, however, ultimately confirmed.

I found that Miss Jane Delano, the distinguished Chief of the Red Cross Nursing Service was going to France, and persuaded her to delay her sailing so that we could go over together. She did so, and we sailed on the City of Washington January 1, 1919. This was a delightful trip, as there were none of the disagreeable occurrences incident to war time, such as zigzagging, and lights out at night, and the ship, which had been used by Mr. Wilson, was in admirable condition. There was also a distinguished company on board among whom were the Hon. Franklin Roosevelt, Asst. Secretary of the Navy, and Mrs. Roosevelt, also Mr. Baruch and Mr. Schwab of the War Industries Board, and Mr. John M. Finlay, the Red Cross Commissioner for Palestine, Mr. Walter Camp of Yale, the inventor of the "setting-up" exercises known as "the daily dozen," was also a passenger, and got us out every morning with the future President at our head, to take these exercises. Mr. Roosevelt at that time had not suffered the attack of poliomyelitis which afterwards made him a cripple, and was in splendid physical condition and very agreeable. We had a pleasant and not very rough trip in spite of its being winter. My roommate was Gen. Ennis of the Artillery. We arrived at Brest on the morning of Jan. 10th. I looked up Edie who took me around to see the hospitalization at that great port of debarkation for our troops, and, in the near future, of the embarkation. The camp and the roads were in very bad condition and deep mud everywhere. Gen. Smedley Butler of the Marines soon after came in command of this camp, and by his energy and resourcefulness got the roads repaired, and boardwalks, known as duckboards, built everywhere in the camp. For the new camp of embarkation he adopted a blue flag with a duckboard on it as their camp flag.

At Paris I reported to Gen. Harbord who was there on a visit. He afterwards, in May, went back as Gen. Pershing's Chief of Staff, his old position

232. which he had left a year before. I also dined with Gen. Kernan. On arrival at Tours on the 12th I was met by my former aides, Berl and Bibby, and was given a hearty greeting by McCaw and the medical mess at 54, Bould. Beranger, which I at once joined. There I found, besides McCaw, Gen. Glennan, Colonels Percy Ashburn, Fife, Shepard, Harmon, and Magee, and Major Robert A. Dixon, the able executive of the Chief Surgeon's Office.

I found that orders had been issued on Jan. 1st by G.H.Q., which was now in Paris, to make out lists of men who should have had promotion, though in the secret letter to the Headquarters S.O.S. any intention of reopening was specifically denied. I slipped naturally back into my old job with them, though as a Board had already been selected, I was not on it. The records were, however, in great disorder as no one in France dreamed that we could get the matter reopened. Meanwhile the Medical Officers came in an endless stream to Tours to complain that they had to go home with no promotions and so were branded, as they felt, as failures. McCaw, who was sick of their complaints, was happy to be able to pass them all on to me. Good old McCaw had been waiting nine months for his star, and I think felt a little aggrieved at me in the matter, but a month later his interim appointment made everything all right, and meanwhile even his colonel's eagles did not look so bad when he had not only a B.G., but a Major Gen. of the Medical Dept. serving under him.

The number of medical officers on duty in the A.E.F. on Jan. 1st, 1919, was 13,920, and the vacancies available for them were as follows:

Grade	Legal Proportion	In A.E.F.	Vacancies	On file as recommended
Col.	3.18%	111	329	--
Lt. Col.	5.42%	321	433	75
Major	23.70%	1498	1801	275
Captain	53.90%	4597	2906	1050
Lieut.	13.82%	7393	----	2931
				4331

So there were nearly four times as many lieutenants as the proper proportion and abundant vacancies to promote every officer who could be shown to deserve it. The Commander in Chief had on Dec. 27 in a circular marked "Secret" called for

233. a list of all officers whose records showed that they had deserved promotion, the recommendations to be made by Boards which should be organized at once throughout the A.E.F. In par.(d) of this order it was stated that these recommendations should not be for past services, and only if physically and mentally qualified. It was impossible that Gen. Pershing, whose mind was entirely absorbed in great affairs of international importance, could examine critically a circular such as this, or could be held responsible for the slavish adherence to old regular army peace time ideas which were not applicable to a war-time temporary army. The statement in par.(d) that "Boards must make no recommendations simply as a compliment for past services rendered," was in conflict with par.(a) and the first paragraph in the letter, if it meant anything at all except to emphasize the importance of present physical fitness, which, under the circumstance of impending demobilization, was of no importance at all if the purpose was to recognize services already rendered. The memory of Lieut. Kerrigan, M.R.C., at B.H. No.33 came back to me; he had served a year and lost a leg in battle, and only wanted to go home with a captaincy, but could not have it because of this fool requirement. It was a poor excuse to say that Army Regulations required it, for with the new Surgeon General in Washington, who had been able to reopen the road to promotions, an unreasonable obstacle like this could easily have been removed if they had made the effort. The real difficulty was that the Personnel Division at G.H.Q. was unteachable.

The dental, veterinary, and sanitary services were taken care of at the same time in separate lists.

On Jan. 15, 1919 we sent to G.H.Q. a long list of promotions, and sent them by Capt. Bibby so that he could answer questions. On the 16th, he reported that they had accepted the entire list. It included practically every officer for whom we had a complete Class A report on file, and contained 3,391 names.

Our chief difficulties at this time were not due to obstructions at G.H.Q.

234. but to the inapplicable requirements of orders, and the difficulties of mail communications in France where units and individuals were moving about. After we had taken so much pains to get these promotions through, hundreds of them failed to reach their owners before they sailed, and as they were consequently not accepted they were revoked, instead of being sent to the U.S. for delivery by the War Dept. Lists of these officers who by fault of the mails failed to get and accept their promotions were sent to the S.G.O. in Washington with the request that they be discharged with the increased grade. We never heard, however, that this was done in any case. The end of the story of A.E.F. promotions is told by the following letter:

1. Two lists of medical officers recommended for promotion have been forwarded by this office to GHQ and favorably acted upon during the current year. The first was forwarded January 15 and contained 3,391 names; the second was forwarded April 19 and contained 1,171 names. It was, however, well understood that many officers who had been deserving of promotion had failed to receive it owing to neglect of their superior officers to make recommendations, or to the fact that these had been held up at intermediate points or lost in the mails. Many recommendations made by superior officers were not in a shape in which they could be used because they had failed to state essential facts, such as length of active service, age, and date of last promotion. A new list, which it was hoped would embrace as many as possible of these, was accordingly begun immediately after the forwarding of the second list. This list was practically completed and ready to be forwarded on May 24, when a message was received from GHQ, sent through the representative of the Chief Surgeon there, that it was desired that no more lists be forwarded for the action of that office, although individual specially meritorious cases might be acted upon.

2. Enclosed is the third list, which was prepared and not forwarded. Especial attention is invited to the fact that it includes 162 first lieutenants who have been in active service since 1917. Of these a dozen or more are over 40 years of age. It is the great desire of these men, and of considerable importance to them in their future practice, that they should receive on discharge an increase of grade. In view of the fact that the Secretary of War stated in November last that it was his intention to arrange for the discharge of meritorious officers with a higher grade, it is recommended that he be asked to take this action in the case of the officers on this list. Attached is a memorandum showing the basis of selection for this list.

We could not get G.H.Q. to let slip through even the dozen or more 1st Lieutenants over 40 years of age who had served through the war with no promotion.

235. On March 1st I got an order to go on a long trip of sanitary inspection of the divisional leave areas in southern France, and to take Col. John T. Shepard with me. We were given a Cadillac car and an orderly besides the chauffeur. We went due south by Poitiers, Perigaux, and Bergerac to Pau where, along the southern horizon gleamed the snow covered peaks of the Pyrenees. From there we traveled east, dipping into the valleys of the Pyrenees, where the summer hotels had been taken over for the use of our troops on furlough. We visited the famous Shrine of the Virgin at Lourdes where miraculous cures are still believed by the faithful to be wrought, Tarbes the home of Marshall Foch, Carcassonne, Montpellier with its famous university and medical school, Nimes with its fine Roman structures, not all yet in ruins, the Pont de Gard, Arles with its Greek theatre, and delightful Cannes where we lingered several days. After a flying trip to Nice and Monaco we returned west to Marseilles, stopping to visit the numerous convalescent hospitals which our Army had established in the fine hotels of the Cote d'Azur. At Marseilles we ran into the celebration by the officers there of the 25th birthday of their youngest officer, and at dinner drank enough wine for him to take a swim in.

We returned home up the valley of the Rhone by Grande Route #7, the great road which runs from Rome to Paris, with halts at Avignon, Lyons, and Nevers. At Avignon I was greatly interested in the old palace of the Popes which I found full of records sent down there by the banks of Paris. Also, I made the acquaintance of the Pope's wine, Chateau Neuf du Pape. It is a delicious red wine made at the vineyards which belonged to the Popes of Avignon several centuries ago. We arrived at Tours on the 12th, and my mess mates said that this wonderful trip was to celebrate my last days of liberty. I was married on March 24 to Cornelia, the daughter of Col. Thomas T. Knox, an old cavalry officer who received at the battle of Las Guasimas an extraordinary wound. A Mauser bullet struck him in the right shoulder as he was charging up the hill and came out at the left hip, ranging entirely through his body. When Col. Webb Hayes came to get his last

236. message he told him to have him taken to the hospital as he had no intention of dying, and he did not for many years afterwards. I had known Miss Knox slightly for many years but had opportunity to get well acquainted with her after she came to Tours in Sept. 1918 as head of the Red Cross Canteen at Tours. We were married by the French custom, first by a city official at the Hotel de Ville and then by an Episcopal Chaplain at the little Huguenot chapel. The French civil ceremony is a purely official one without any religious references. A city official wearing a large silver chain around his neck came out on a platform at one end of a beautiful hall and addressed the bride and groom who sat in large armchairs in front. He read from a book a little address, first to the bridegroom and then to the bride. He read so rapidly that I could only get a word here and there, but was sure that I had the answer and so when he stopped and looked at me I replied "Oui Monsieur." The bride, after the address to her, made the same reply, and that seemed to be all that was expected. We then signed a large register, our witnesses signing after us. The official shook hands with us and the ceremony was over. There are no fees for a marriage in France, but the official selected the youngest and best-looking woman present and gave her a little bag to take up a collection for the poor. At the Huguenot chapel we found the church full of our friends, although no invitations had been issued. Someone who was statistically minded told us afterwards that there were fourteen generals present. It was, however not difficult to get fourteen generals in Tours at that time. General Connor, who was then in command, lent us his official car, and off we went to Paris where we spent several days. Our friend, Col. Percy L. Jones, while we were there, gave us a most interesting trip along the devastated area, including the Chemin des Dames line of battle which had been fought over for four years. The whole country was absolutely desolate, and although the battlefields had been in a way cleaned up, there was still enough arms and ammunition to supply the most greedy relic hunter. We went north to Montdidier, then

237. east through Noyon, Soissons, and Rheims to Epernay, where we spent the night. The next day we continued east of Chalons into the Argonne, intending to visit Montfaucon and Verdun. Beyond Varennes, where poor old Louis XVI was captured when he tried to escape, we found the roads under repair and impassable. The weather also turned bad so that we determined to return to Paris. Colonel Jones brought us back to Tours on March 30 in his car, and the following month was very gay with dinners and other entertainments.

On April 3rd there was a ceremony in the barracks yard at headquarters with the giving of the Distinguished Service Medal²⁴ to a number of our officers, including Edie, Frank Baker, Fife, Ruffner, Siler, and others. Among them was Luke Doyle, a major of the Sanitary Corps who had done fine work in charge of the shipment of the wounded by rail from the front. He was assistant to the officer at the Regulating Station at Criel. I was somewhat surprised that my name did not appear on this list as I knew from Gen. Ireland that it was in the first list sent forward to G.H.Q. It was several years before I got it, but whether the delay was due to the activities of an individual of influence at G.H.Q., or was a result of the interest in my affairs by the Secretary of War, I never certainly knew. On April 10th Marshall Petain came to Tours to give the decoration of Legion of Honor to American officers whose services the French Government desired to recognize. I was more fortunate this time, and received the decoration in the grade of Officier. Gen. Castelnau came with the Marshall on this occasion. He was a grand looking old man, but with a sad expression. I heard that he had lost both his sons in the war.

The sad news came to us all of the death, on April 15th, of Miss Jane Delano who had been for some weeks ill at the hospital center of Savernay. I first met Miss Delano when she came to the Surgeon General's office as Supt. of Nurses under

²⁴ Then the only medal to reward non-combat service.

238. Gen. O'Reilly. There had been a futile effort made by her predecessor to organize a reserve corps of nurses corresponding to the Medical Reserve Corps which we began to build up in 1908. Miss Delano, who was very influential in the nursing profession throughout the United States, saw that there was very little chance of organizing an efficient reserve in the War Department. She therefore resigned her position as Supt. of Nurses and went to the Red Cross where for more than ten years she labored hard, and with great success, to build up the Red Cross nursing service. This service, which grew during the war to 23,000 members, was available to the Navy as well as the Army and to Red Cross Hospitals. None were admitted to it but regular graduated nurses, and of these only such as had excellent records and qualifications. Having a sufficient private income, she served during all these years without pay. Personally, she was not only handsome, but of a noble and majestic appearance, and was a woman in the same class as Florence Nightingale and Dorothea Dix. There was at this time a prohibition against the sending of the dead back to America, and (until after the completion of the return of the Army) it was strictly enforced. Gen. Ireland, however, with his usual resourcefulness, found a way to have an exception made in the case of Miss Delano's remains which were sent back to Washington and interred with military honors at Arlington.

Early in June Gen. Harbord, who was then in command at Tours, received a letter from Gen. Liggett who commanded the Army of Occupation in Germany, requesting that he would send me up to pay him a visit. He and I had been very intimate years before when we served together in Florida where he was a 1st Lieut. and adjutant of the 5th Infantry, and I a young captain and Post Surgeon. As I was not at all busy I made haste to get to Coblenz where I had a charming visit of three days. During the day time he, being busy in his office, sent me with one of his aides in his official car up and down the Rhine Valley to many points of interest. My greatest pleasure was to see the American flag floating from the top of the great

239. fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, across the Rhine from Coblenz, and when we drove up on the parade ground to be welcomed by Col. McCabe who commanded the garrison of a regiment of American artillery. He was the son of an old college mate and friend of my father's. Another fine trip was when I went up to the Argonne battlefield with a group of officers from Tours. We went over the Argonne battlefields as far north as Sedan, and then east to Metz. The whole region was absolutely desolate and uninhabited until we got in the Valley of the Moselle, which, having been always within the German lines, was richly cultivated and contained an apparently flourishing population. At the fine cathedral we were shown a group of statues about the main doorway which had been placed there when some restorations were made after Metz came into the hands of the Germans in 1870. One of the statues, the Prophet Daniel, had the head of Emperor William, the likeness being unmistakable. The French had not mutilated this statue as might have been expected, but had put a chain about the hands with the inscription, "Sic transit gloria mundi." ~~Afterwards we visited the huge underground quarters which would accommodate 2,000 soldiers in perfect safety from any bombardment.~~

In June the A.E.F. was rapidly melting away, and the principal offices at Tours began to get progressively smaller as the officers were sent home. On June 28th the Germans signed a peace treaty at Versailles. Also, we heard on that day that on the preceding day the German Great Fleet, which had been interned at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands had been sunk by the German crews aboard the ships. Salutes of cannon were fired at Tours and great rejoicing by the population, the city being decorated with flags.

I received a letter asking when I thought my services could be spared, this courtesy being paid me, I presume, because of my rank of Brig. General. I was not at all in a hurry to go, but suggested the 4th of July as an appropriate time, and accordingly got orders to leave Tours on that day. We made the trip to Brest

240. very comfortably in a hospital train which was being sent down there empty, and I saw a wonderful improvement in the city, and especially in the camp and the roads about both, since my arrival there in January. We were assigned transportation on the captured German steamer Imperator, the sister ship to the Leviathan, and next to it the largest ship in the world at that time. Brig. Generals Paul Malone and Edwards went also on this trip, and the Italian Ambassador, Count di Cellare with his wife. They occupied the suite which had been built for the Kaiserin. I was told that when the ship had been used as a trans-Atlantic liner this suite cost \$6,000 a trip. There were many thousand soldiers on board, and 300 women, nurses and welfare workers, including also 75 French brides of the soldiers. The total number on the ship including the crew was said to be nearly 14,000 souls.

We landed in New York on Sunday, July 13th. The only pier at Hoboken which could accommodate our ship was occupied by the Leviathan, which was about to sail, and our ship lay in North River for half an hour waiting for the Leviathan to back out to make room for us. When she did so she was only a couple of hundred yards away, and we could see on both banks a great crowd of people attracted by the sight of the two largest ships in the world lying side by side across the North River. We came on to Washington on the 15th. I saw the Surgeon General and my old friends and got my orders and my family.

On the 31st I was discharged from the National Army, and resumed my grade of Colonel in the Regular Med. Corps. On Aug. 5th Generals Noble and McCaw were confirmed as Brigadier Generals in the Regular Corps. General Noble had, while in France accepted his assignment to duty at Bordeaux with very good spirit, and had made no complaints. When we met after his confirmation neither of us allowed this incident to make any difference in our behavior to the other, although we were, naturally, not very intimate. I had impressed on General Ireland before coming home

241. the fact that I had no desire to serve in Washington, and had requested him to make no effort to that end. He therefore arranged for me to go to Boston as Corps Area Surgeon, an assignment which was very agreeable to me on several accounts, one being that I desired to enter my son at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Having packed up in Washington, we went on to Boston on Aug. 9th. We took an apartment in Cambridge which was very conveniently located for getting to my office by the subway. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, an old friend was in command of the Northeastern Department, as it was then called, with headquarters at 99 Chauncey Street. The headquarters was, the next year, moved down on the government pier where there were some vacant buildings, and the name changed from Northeastern Department to First Corps Area. This change was made on September 1st, 1920.

The Police Strike. I had hardly time to become settled in my office before an event happened which certainly threatened to become very serious, and attracted the attention of the entire country. It was the announced intention of the police force of the metropolitan area of Boston to form a union under the Department of Labor. Governor Calvin Coolidge was absent in the western part of the state, and the police commissioner announced that any policeman joining a union would be dismissed. Practically the entire police force then went on a strike. As the Massachusetts National Guard had not yet been transferred back from the National to the State service, Boston was apparently left at the mercy of the mob, and efforts were made by labor agitators to call a general strike in sympathy with the police. Fortunately there was in Boston a volunteer military organization created at the beginning of the World War to temporarily replace the National Guard. These men were many of them over the military age, and practically all men who, for one reason or another, had been excused from the draft. A small body of this organization hastened downtown to a place where a mob had formed and had begun to break shop windows and plunder stores. The mob began to throw stones, and the officer in command promptly ordered his troops to fire, and one volley was enough for the

242. mob which took to its heels. There was no more serious resistance to the municipal authorities.

The War Department, after seeing the possibilities of a general strike, had authorized Gen. Edwards to place himself at the disposition of the Governor and take whatever measures should be necessary without reference to Washington. Gen. Edwards called the staff together to find out what each branch was prepared to do in case it became necessary to put the state under martial law. When it came to the Medical Department I outlined readily my plan for the establishment of temporary hospitals in the cities and for procuring medical officers from the Reserve. When he said, "How about medical supplies, Kean," I surprised him by saying that although I had attempted to find out, neither I or any other Medical Officer in the Department knew anything about the store of medical supplies, where they were, or in what condition. This referred to the extraordinary fact that I had discovered on becoming Department Surgeon that all medical supplies, as well as those of the Quartermaster Dept. and other Departments, had been taken over by an operating branch of the General Staff organized in August, 1915, called the Purchase, Storage and Traffic Division. They bought, stored, and issued medical supplies without any reference to the Department Surgeon whose opinion was not asked and not wanted. It appeared to me to be foolish almost beyond belief that after the greatest of all of our wars, in which the question of medical supplies was more difficult than in any former war on account of the great distance of the operating force from its base, and the vast quantities needed, they should take the problem of medical supply out of the hands of the medical department, which had administered it with triumphant efficiency, and dump it in with the miscellaneous supplies of the Quartermaster Department. As may be guessed, it was a contribution drawn from the business experience of the dollar-a-year men to us. The system, I was told, had been gotten up by Mr. Thorne of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and was a typical system of a mail order and department store.

243. The paperwork was incredibly complicated. Col. Snyder, who had had experience in medical supplies, told me that it required 32 different papers to issue property instead of the two used in the Medical Department. Our Post Surgeon found that it was nearly impossible to draw supplies without great delays and the receipt of many things not asked for and not wanted. It soon became evident that this clumsy creation could not be operated in time of peace, and it would have been a nightmare in time of war. Fortunately, there was no general strike; Governor Coolidge sustained Mr. Curtis, Commissioner of Police. The police force was reorganized and all was well. Meanwhile I had an opportunity to let off steam by a report to the Surgeon General as to how the P.S.&T. worked. About this time a new bill reorganizing the Army was in process of preparation in the War Department, and it seemed to me a good time to get rid of such an incubus as this. However the Surgeon General wrote me that the provisions as regards the Medical Department had been all prepared without any consultation whatever with him. The Chief of Engineers and the other Bureau Chiefs were treated with equal discourtesy. It appeared afterwards that the General Staff itself had suffered in the same way. Since the bill drafted at the War College did not suit the Chief of Staff it had been put in the scrap basket by General March, and he wrote the bill to suit himself. When it got before the Committees in Congress, it was bitterly attacked by the Surgeon General and the other Bureau Chiefs who found astonishing changes in their departments. The bill met the defeat which it richly deserved, and the Senate Committee under the advice of Gen. John McA. Palmer put into it the provisions for the organized reserve, such as we have today.

The Surgeon General made an effort towards the end of this year to bring into the Medical Reserve all the old Base Hospitals which I had organized at parent institutions in 1916-17. The medical profession was, however, sore over the failure of promotions in the A.E.F., and many of them had other grievances not so well founded, so that he found in Massachusetts a general disposition to stay out.

244. He asked me, therefore, to take it up locally, so we had a meeting of the Medical Directors who had organized the various units for war. All of them had their grievances, and some, I was bound to admit, were well founded. Col. Harvey Cushing was the chief spokesman, and was a hard hitter in his criticisms of the medical administration at Washington [and] in the A.E.F. I made no effort to combat or correct his statements, but let him blow off steam until he had thoroughly disburdened his soul; then they agreed to come in if three recommendations were accepted. The first was that the Directors should command the Base Hospitals when called into active service in war. This I recommended to be agreed to, providing the Director had military experience or adequate military training. 2. That the medical staff should not be required to enroll in the Medical Reserve Corps in advance of the organization of the unit. 3. That there should be no minimum requirement for the enlisted personnel. The Surgeon General agreed to these conditions and Base Hospitals 5, 6, 7, and 44 at once enrolled.

Col. Charles Lynch notified me that he had been put in charge of the editorship of the History of the Medical Department in the World War, and that I had been put on the editorial board.²⁵ After some correspondence he called on me to supply three chapters. The first was on the preparedness for war which began with the organization of the Medical Department completed in 1908, and had been carried on by Gen. Torney after Gen. O'Reilly's retirement. The second was on the development of the R.C. Medical Department units for the war. The third was on the relations between the Chief Surgeon's office and the General Staff in the A.E.F. In sending in this material I wrote Lynch that he was at liberty to take any of the material he wanted and use it in the way which seemed best. I would not let my pride of authorship interfere with his editorial responsibilities. The result was that he took me at my word and used most of my material for the first chapter in his general

²⁵ Ultimately published 1921-29.

245. introduction, "Evolution of the Medical Department." My second chapter appeared as written under my name. The third chapter was not published in the History. Gen. Ireland wrote me a very complimentary letter about this chapter, stating that he thought it was about the finest piece of writing I had ever done, but that its criticisms in places were a little sharp and he thought should be toned down, a conclusion that I was perfectly willing to accept. Five years later when I became editor of the Military Surgeon after my retirement, I drew out this chapter from the archives of the historical section and published the most of it in the Military Surgeon as an article entitled "The Chief Surgeon's Office and the General Staff." (Military Surgeon, Dec. 1925). It occasioned some comment, I imagine, in General Staff circles, and General Ireland called me up on the 'phone to ask me how about it, and when it had been approved by his office for publication. I had the data under my hand, and went on to say that I thought it was the chief function of history to tell all such mistakes in order that our successors would learn to avoid them.

In the spring we were called on to prepare a white paper on the use of military forces in domestic disturbances, suggested doubtless by our experience with the police strike six months before. I heard of this from the S.G.O., and after waiting a couple of weeks to be called on for the medical side of it by our Department General Staff, I sent word to Col. Buchan, who was then Chief of Staff of the Corps Area that I would like to have a say at their next meeting. When invited up I said if they wanted any assistance from my office I would like to be notified promptly so that the matter could be thoroughly gone into. Also, I had observed that there were two ideas in the General Staff with regard to their relations to the Staff Departments. One which I might call the 'team' idea was that the Army should work together as a harmonious whole, and that the Staff Departments should be taken into the confidence of the General Staff. The other idea, which might be called the

246. 'oracle' idea, believed in working in secret and keeping the rest of the Army in utter darkness, only giving out (from time to time) their inspired utterances. I said that I did not think that this last method worked in the past, or would ever work in the future, and that I hoped they were not going to try the 'oracle' method on me. They took this sermon very nicely and promised that we would use the 'team' plan, so we got along very well together.

I had two other issues with the General Staff during my five years of service. The first was with reference to the organization of the Medical Service of Reserve Divisions which I claimed was a medical job, but which Col. Bowles claimed belonged to him as Division Chief of Staff.²⁶ My proposal was to go to the General together and each state his side, then we would get a decision and the matter would be settled without further question. General Edwards promptly decided in my favor about the Medical Service of Divisions, as Gen. Brewster did about the second question, which was as follows: A letter written by a Medical Reserve officer had been referred to me by the General Staff Officer handling the matter. I carefully prepared an endorsement, but was amazed and angered to find out later that it had been discarded, and what I considered a most unsatisfactory endorsement substituted for it by the officer in question. When I went to him about it he plainly stated it was his prerogative. I then asked the Chief of Staff in the meeting which we had once a week to make an appointment with the Commanding General (then General Brewster) when I could state the case and get a decision, my claim being that if the Gen. Staff officer did not like my endorsement, he should come to me and talk it over with me, and if we could not agree, then the matter should be taken to the Commanding General. Hearing nothing from Col. Learnard, the Chief of Staff, I asked him when I was going to have my hearing. With some embarrassment he admitted that when he made the request Gen. Brewster asked what it was all about. When Col. Learnard explained it to him he said he was not going to waste his time discussing such a question; that I was entirely right, and he was there to decide questions where his Staff Officers did

²⁶ Kean is referring to combat divisions in the Organized Reserve, a post-WWI development.

247. not agree.

I took an immense amount of interest in the matter of organizing the Reserve, and was interested to learn from the Surgeon General's office that the First Corps Area was one of a few in which the Medical Department had the say in all of its own affairs. In several of the Corps Areas the General Staff organized the Medical Reserve without any reference whatever to the Corps Area Surgeon.

An interesting question which came up in connection with the reorganization of the Army was what should become of the Medical Department when the line received their single list for promotion. I was strongly in favor of promotion by length of service. Some of the old officers came to me and said that they were afraid of it because by calculation they had discovered that in ten years we would have as many as fifty colonels, and they did not think that Congress would stand for that. I had vivid recollections of the difficulty that we had in 1908 to persuade Congress to give us 16, but said that at any rate we could take the chance. When the station list for January 1st of this year came out I remembered this question, and counted the medical colonels - there were 72.

On July 4, 1920 I heard by cable of the death of Gen. Gorgas in London. The British paid him great honors while he was sick there, and the King visited him and gave him a decoration in bed not long before his death. He would have been a happier man if he had retired in January 1917, and had not been called on to be at the head of the vast and turbulent machine which ran the Surgeon General's office in his name during the World War.

A large number of additional medical officers were needed under the reorganization of the Army in 1920, and Medical Boards were organized throughout the country to examine the applicants. Our Board in Boston gave them a real bonafide examination, fair, and without catch questions. Many of the candidates were, however, elderly men who had not been very successful in private practice, and who

248. after an experience in the service, had no desire to go back to practice. Most of these men failed, and with them a number that the Board knew to be undesirable characters. The result was that there were not enough approved candidates to fill the vacancies, and the S.G.O., either of their own notion, or on compulsion, did a very unwise thing, for which we have been suffering since. They took in all the candidates who had made a mark of 60 or above without referring the names back to the Boards for any remark. I was indignant to find that they had gotten several undesirable candidates from our Board. Fortunately, two years later when 2,000 officers were cut off, most of them went back to civil life.

Early in November the Surgeon General asked me to come down to a meeting of the Editorial Board of the Medical History of the World War. The Board met on Monday, October 8th, and we had a very interesting meeting. General Ireland entertained us at lunch at the Club, there being present Professor Welch, General Finney, Colonels George E. Brewer of New York, T.R. Boggs, Baltimore, Haven Emerson, Jas. McKernon (who was Consultant on diseases of the ear in the A.E.F.), de Schweinitz, Salmon, Siler, Zinser, and Lynch (until his retirement, the editor of the History). McCaw, though not a member of the Board, was also there. Of course with such a group the meeting would have been a most agreeable one even if the luncheon had not been itself unusually good. There was an interesting incident with reference to this History about which I had had some correspondence with Lynch. As the General Staff had planned to write a great staff history of the war, and almost every branch of the Army was preparing its own history, they started out in true Army fashion by preparing a lot of regulations for the History. In this way they repeated the experience of the first Panama Canal Commission, which began by writing their regulations and getting them approved by the President. They soon found themselves so bound up in their own red tape that they had to apply to the President for relief. These regulations were an extraordinary document. One paragraph which annoyed me especially was the provision that names should not be mentioned unless

249. they “adorned history.” That the product would not be history without names did not seem to occur to them. I was a little surprised to find that Colonel Lynch did not wholly disapprove of this prohibition, thinking that it might save trouble in the revision of the contributions. It seemed to me that, for medical history at any rate, a history without names would be like a tree without leaves, and so for my contributions I went ahead and wrote them without any reference to these instructions with the idea that the censor could decide for himself what names adorned history and delete the others. The result was a curious one. The staff history, for which the regulations were primarily prepared, has never been published, nor has any other branch except the Medical Department, been able to persuade Congress to appropriate the money for the history of its activities in the World War.²⁷ Our history was, in my opinion, greatly injured by the omission of names where they should appear. For example, in the individual histories of the fifty Base Hospitals with parent institutions the names of the Directors, who at each parent institution, formed the nucleus of the unit, were omitted, whereas the name of the regular Army Officer who was detailed to take the unit overseas and militarize it, is given. This is an error for which, however, the General Staff cannot fairly be blamed, as the names of these Directors would certainly adorn any medical history. No names were deleted in my chapter.

While I was in Washington I talked with the supply people about the passing of the Purchase and Storage Division which had proved utterly unworkable, even in time of peace. Col. Mount told me of some curious experiences that the Medical Dept. had had in its efforts to draw some of its own property, and his experience had been as mine was, that though their storehouses were bursting with accumulated medical supplies, it was almost impossible to get them to issue any of it when wanted. We had secured from the Adjutant General an order for the P&S Div. to issue the full equipment of a Division [presumably Kean meant an Infantry Division] for storage in the great warehouse in Boston. This would make the Corps Area independent in the matter of medical supplies in case of an extensive railroad strike, or other disturbance which might prevent the shipment of

²⁷ The Army ultimately published a seventeen-volume series, United States Army in the World War, 1917–1919 plus a five-volume Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War. Both were heavily documentary and offered little analysis, as Kean was hinting.

250. medical supplies from points south and west of New England. During more than six months, and in spite of many letters and peremptory orders, we had never been able to get this equipment out of them. Their passing was a matter of universal joy.

The new year, 1921, brought a change of administration. The Democratic administration had apparently outstayed its welcome, and the Army and Navy were joyful over the departure of their two Secretaries, Baker and Daniels. The Army was well pleased to see Gen. March depart as Chief of Staff, although in fact he held on until the 1st of July. He had, during war time, been, in spite of his arbitrary methods, and perhaps because of them, a great administrative chief. After the Armistice, however, he or Mr. Baker, or the combination, made one mistake after another, and in Congress one member spoke quite bitterly of the unfortunate combination of a Pacifist and a Prussian. During the autumn and winter he urged the recruiting to its highest speed in order to try and expand the Army to 280,000 men in spite of the expressed intention of Congress to limit it to 180,000. To do this recruits were accepted with the most obvious disabilities, in spite of the fact that under the law at that time such acceptance made them eligible for pensions for these disabilities. The scandal was so great that in Boston we offered the recruiting officer a medical officer to examine the men before their enlistment, but he soon found that this check on enlistment was not welcome in Washington. After this process was stopped by the new administration, we spent a year weeding out and discharging these unfit men, and doubtless the Government is still paying many of them pensions.

The change to the new administration was not in every way an improvement, however, for the medical profession were amazed at the apparition in public life of an comical little figure, Dr. Chas. E. Sawyer, who had been the medical attendant of the President's wife. Although he had never had any military service, he was made a Brig. General in the Reserve, and became the medical adviser of the Administration on all medical matters, including military and naval medicine, and all questions of medical supply. Though more amusing, he was less dangerous than some other figures which soon appeared in this admini-

251. stration. Congress had turned over to the President the responsibility for organizing the care of the veterans. Instead of calling to this difficult and very important post one of the great men of the medical profession like Frank Billings of Chicago, or an experienced Army administrator like Davis (the Adjutant General), he selected a man without any administrative experience named Forbes, whose only recommendation was that he had on one occasion been polite to the Hardings when they visited Hawaii. In justice to the President it should be stated that he did not know that in the background of Forbes' life was the crime of desertion from the Army, as this was not reported to him by the War Dept.* This man after having spread corruption through the Veterans Bureau, finally landed in the penitentiary where he belonged.

The American Medical Association met this year in Boston, and the Association of Military Surgeons met there at the same time. This conjunction has never been a successful one for the military surgeons, and the Boston meeting was no exception. The many attractions of the larger organization scattered our members so that it was impossible to get together more than a handful for any session. I had an interesting talk at this time with Gen. Ireland about the Distinguished Service Medal. It has already been mentioned that my name was in the first list sent in by him before he left France, but it had been cut off either at G.H.Q. or after it got to Washington. As I felt confident that the Secretary, Mr. Baker, would not let me have it during his administration, I always thought that the difficulty was there, although one of my friends told me that there was opposition to it at G.H.Q. where I had become unpopular with the Personnel Division on account of my outspoken criticisms of the obstructions which they had placed in the way of the medical promotions. The list for decorations had been practically closed at the end of the last administration, and Gen. Ireland found some difficulty in having it reopened for the consideration of my name, and some others in which he was interested, among them our fine old friend Gen. Fevrier of the French Army. He also wished decorations given to Dr. George H. Simmons, Secretary of the A.M.A., and to Franklin Martin for their

* I have been told that the Secretary of War asked for Forbes' war record instead of his Army Record, and the Adjutant General naturally sent him his war record, which was a good one. The record of Army service previous to the war was not sent to the Secretary, and so did not reach the President.

[Note in BG Kean's hand: Ireland.]

252. very active and valuable assistance in the mobilization of the Medical Reserve. These two men, however, were not friendly to each other, and one could not well be decorated without the other. I understood that when Franklin Martin's decoration was proposed to Gen. Noble, his head hit the ceiling. His power had, however, passed and his opposition was futile. Gen. Ireland asked me to prepare the citation for Col. Franklin Martin, which I did with great pleasure because I had sat on the General Medical Board with him at the beginning of the war, and appreciated his ability as an organizer. The decorations were finally conferred towards the end of the year. I received mine as a Christmas present, the ceremony taking place at Corps Area Headquarters on a beautiful winter day, the 27th of December. My good friends Col. Henry A. Shaw, of the Regular Corps, and Col. Frederick A. Washburn, Supt. of the Mass. General Hospital and Director and C.O. of Base Hospital No.6, were decorated at the same time.

One of the events of the A.M.A. meeting which flattered me much was an invitation to lunch with the Executive Council of the Board of National Examiners, it being explained at the luncheon by Dr. Walter L. Bierring that the invitation was due to the fact that, next to Dr. Rodman, I was more responsible than any other person for the creation of the Board by my paper read in Chicago in the spring of 1914 which started the move.

On June 15th orders were issued by the War Department, authorizing Army officers to wear civilian clothes. We had been continually in uniform for more than five years. At this time were also issued the new pay tables authorized by Congress for the new fiscal year. These made uniform the pay rates for the Army, Navy, and Public Health and some smaller services, and gave the last increase of pay which the Army officers have received to the date of this writing. [Approximately 1933.]

During the spring I had prepared a scheme of promotion for the Medical Reserve Corps by rosters with credits for length of service, special qualifications

253. etc. as in France. After a careful study by the Corps Area General Staff it had been approved, and a copy sent to Washington, but no orders had been issued for its adoption. I spoke to Gen. Edwards about it two months after the General Staff had given it an O.K., and found that he had never seen it. It was a case of the "Basket of the G's" where, as I showed in my article on the relations between the Medical Dept. and the General Staff, so many good propositions were defeated by the simple process of delay.²⁸ Gen. Edwards read the scheme and ordered that it be put in effect in the Corps Area at once. However, the Surgeon General's office came along with another, and as I thought, less simple and satisfactory scheme, so that our rosters had to be given up in the I Corps Area.

In July 1 got a leave with permission to go to Europe, a scheme which Mrs. Kean had long cherished. We sailed on the transport Cantigny, leaving Hoboken on the afternoon of July 7th. I found to my surprise that General March had the stateroom opposite mine. Col. Truby with his family was also on board, and Capt. Upham of the Navy with his attractive wife. It is rather beside the purpose of this narrative to give an account of this trip in Europe which was a delightful experience, during which we visited Paris, Toul, and Tours, where we found very few acquaintances, but many pleasant memories. At Coblenz we found many old friends in the very happy Army of Occupation which was commanded with admirable judgment and good discipline by Gen. Henry T. Allen. The exchange in Germany was heavily in favor of the dollar so that every soldier felt himself a rich man, and the worst punishment that could be given was to be sent home. It gave Truby and me great satisfaction to look over the medical units which were in an admirable state of neatness and efficiency. Boyd Miller was C.O. of the Base Hospital with Glenn I. Jones as adjutant, and Chas. Gandy in charge of the Surgical Service. They had also another unit called the Convalescent Hospital which was organized for the benefit of the venereal cases. It was a sort of lock hospital where they

²⁸ Gs refers to the branches of the General Staff, where G1 is personnel, G2 intelligence, G3 operations, etc.

254. were kept under strict discipline, drilled, and trained in their military duties, but not allowed out to distribute their infections among the population. Major Henry P. Carter was in command of this excellent institution. We were most hospitably entertained by all the medical officers. The dinners were usually given at the German Officers' Club in their beautiful Casino where excellent dinners could be had at reasonable prices. We got back to Boston on Sept. 13th.

On the 14th of November Marshall Foch who was visiting in this country arrived at Boston and was given an immense popular demonstration of welcome. In the evening a great dinner, 700 guests, was given him at Copley Plaza Hotel at the expense of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As the Commonwealth of Mass. was host, Gov. Cox presided, and the speech of the evening was made by Judge Rudd, Chief Justice of Mass. The guests were seated at little tables, eight at each. No other military persons sat at the table where Col. Learnard, Chief of Staff of the Corps Area, and I were seated, and until he sat down I observed that the seat on my left was vacant. Then its occupant appeared, a coal black negro in uniform, wearing the decorations of the Distinguished Service Cross, the Medaille Militaire, the Croix de Guerre and the Victory Medal. Col. Learnard could not conceal his delight that our colored friend should have been seated by the one southern man at the table. I was, however, quite willing to sit by a man wearing these decorations, and began to talk with him about them, and about his military service. I recalled having seen him get the D.S.C. at our headquarters a year before. He was very modest and self-contained, and did not speak except to answer questions. As soon as the dinner was over he got up and excused himself and went off to an inconspicuous corner to listen to the speeches. In every way he behaved like a perfect gentleman.

During December the question of the organization of the Medical Reserve which had arisen with regard to the divisional organization the year before and had been settled to my entire satisfaction, came up again about the organization of the Medical Service of Corps Headquarters and Corps troops for the I and XI Corps. These were in charge of Lt. Col. E.T. Smith. My proposition was that the General

255. Staff Officer in charge of this work would assign to line units of the Corps the medical officers chosen from those which I had approved for that kind of duty, but would not appoint any which had not the approval of the Corps Surgeon. Also that the Corps Surgeon should organize the Medical Regiment, and he, with the Chief of Staff, would select the Chief Surgeon of the Division and Corps. Col. Smith's contention was that he should do all this, and I should have nothing to do with it. The General approved my memorandum, and so this matter was settled as favorably as was the one of the division.

We received about this time Bulletin No.19, 1921 which contained an address to the War College by Col. John McA. Palmer of the General Staff on the reorganization of the Army. This was an admirable, clear statement of the purposes of the reorganization by the man who, more than any other, had contributed the ideas embodied in it, it is well worth reading by one who wishes to understand the genesis of our present military organization.²⁹

At the beginning of the year 1922 it was understood that in the reduction of the number of officers in the army which was in prospect, reductions for physical disabilities would assume much importance. What seemed to me undue importance was placed upon artificial dentures in the case of officers, and a number of officers who appeared before the Examining Board in Boston were recommended for retirement on this account. One case which came especially to my attention was that of an officer who had come to Boston from his station at one of the New England colleges for medical advice, and on the recommendation of the attending surgeon had had his upper teeth extracted, and replaced by an artificial denture. Then a few months later when he appeared for his annual physical examination he was recommended for retirement on this account. When he came before the Retiring Board and the attending surgeon gave his testimony I asked him to explain how this officer was disabled by his artificial denture. He said that there was danger of his losing it under

²⁹ Palmer was advocating Universal Military Training that would have provided a vast citizen reserve behind a Regular Army of 500,000. While providing substantial military strength, it was far more than the public and Congress wanted. See I.B. Holley, Jr., General John M. Palmer, Citizen Soldiers, and the Army of a Democracy (1982, Greenwood Press).

256. field conditions and becoming in this way disabled. The officer replied to this by producing an additional set from his pocket, and stating that he would promise the Board to go always provided against this contingency. I then remarked that to my mind there was much more danger of an officer becoming disabled at the front by losing his boots than by losing his denture. This comment greatly amused Gen. Edwards when he saw the proceedings, and he indorsed on them he thought the danger of disability from the loss of a man's boots was much more serious, as one could get the services of a dentist at the front, but not a boot maker.

At the end of April I took a week's leave to go to Virginia, and incidentally for a visit in Washington. There were very few evidences of spring in New England when I left Boston on the morning of April 26th, and it gave me great pleasure to watch the unfolding of spring as I went south, so that the whole process which occupies a month in one place was completed in the eight hours of my journey. In Washington I found the dogwoods and fruit trees in bloom, and all the trees in leaf except the oaks and the elms. I had a number of interesting conferences at the S.G.O. With Reynolds I talked of my scheme for promotion of Medical Reserve officers by roster such as I had worked out in France, but found that he had other ideas, and was not at all disposed to accept those born of our experience in the A.E.F. I also talked with Col. Chamberlain about the physical examinations for the Reserve Officers, so as to avoid the exclusion of laboratory men and other specialties on account of physical defects which, while disqualifying for line officers, would not in anyway disqualify medical experts for their special work. I found him quite receptive to this suggestion. I called on the Chief of Staff, Gen. Harbord, and told him that as the senior colonel of the Medical Corps I wanted to express the feeling of the Corps about the reappointment of Gen. Ireland which was desired by the great majority of the medical officers. He said that he had taken it for granted that Gen. Ireland would be reappointed. I said that on account of the appearance of Gen. Sawyer as an advisor in medical matters at the

257. White House, the matter might not be so certain, and that I knew of at least one candidate who would probably bid actively for his support. I felt, therefore, that the Secretary should be spoken to about the matter as soon as possible. He promised to do so at an early date, and thus I believe any agitation for a change was effectively headed off.

Upon my return to Boston early in May I heard the news of the death of the New York banker Henry P. Davison after an operation for a brain tumor. As I have already stated, Mr. Davison as chief of the Red Cross War Council dominated the operations of the American Red Cross at the beginning of the war, and was principally instrumental in raising the enormous sum of 115 million dollars to finance its activities. I also mentioned his ambition to dominate the medical service so far as the question of camp sanitation and medical inspection were concerned, which brought me in conflict with him, resulting in my detachment from duty with the Red Cross.

A curious question which came up this summer which had a certain medical interest was the opposition which arose in New England to the confirmation of Lt. Col. Duncan P. Major to be promoted Colonel. This officer was in every way entitled to his promotion, but the opposition was based upon the fact that he had been Chief of Staff of the 26th Div. during the World War, and the summary relief of Gen. Edwards as Commanding General of that Division was due to a conflict which arose between him and his Chief of Staff. The question at issue was the same that arose in a number of other Divisions as to who actually should command a Division and be responsible for its discipline and efficiency. The older school of Army officers naturally thought that these responsibilities belonged to the Commanding General, but among the General Staff Officers had been quite widely spread the Prussian idea that the Chief of Staff was the mainspring of military action, and the Commanding General more or less a symbol of command. A long communication was

258. published in the Boston Transcript over the signature of Col. Hunt, who was Col. Major's counsel and defender, in which he wholly claimed the responsibility of command for the latter, and especially emphasized his confidential relations with the General Staff at G.H.Q. After reading this I said to my assistant, Col. Ekwurzel, "You were a Division Surgeon in France; who did you regard as your immediate Commanding Officer, the Commanding General or the Chief of Staff?" His reply was that he put this question to the Chief of Staff of his Division, and the latter's reply was, "As far as you are concerned, I command the Division."

During the summer there came for duty at our headquarters an attractive young Medical Officer, Major Clarence P. Baxter, in whom I was interested, not only because his grandfather had been Surgeon General of the Army, but also because his wife was a granddaughter of Col. John S. Billings, the founder of the Surgeon General's Library. Major Baxter seemed to be an enthusiastic medical officer, and as far as I could determine, an efficient one, but at the end of August he received from the Adjutant General a notice that he had been selected for elimination. He was a graduate of the Army Medical School where, I believe, he stood well, and was an enthusiast for the service. The reduction of the Army by 2,000 officers produced profound agitation at this time throughout the Army, and was especially felt by the Medical Corps. It was in the main probably advantageous to both by the elimination of much dead wood, and many undesirable individuals, but like all such operations, undoubtedly some mistakes were made.

The Clinical Congress of Surgeons met in Boston in the autumn. Dr. Deaver of Philadelphia was President, Harvey Cushing President-elect, and Dr. Franklin Martin Director General. For the academic procession at the formal meeting I was called on to produce a medical officer in uniform to head the procession and carry the great mace of the college. Major Rukke was the first medical officer I could lay hands on and so became for a moment the most prominent person in the procession of over 2,000 Fellows in cap and gown. I greatly enjoyed the entertainments and addresses of this meeting especially the companionship of Gen. Ire-

259. land who stayed with me.

On December 1st the Corps Area Commander, Gen. Clarence E. Edwards, retired. His last official act was to confer for the War Department several decorations, one of which, a D.S.M., was conferred upon Dr. W. B. Cannon, Professor of Physiology at Harvard Medical School, who had served with Siler at his laboratory and had done some valuable work in the study of surgical shock at the front. Gen. Edwards was always a broad-minded friend of the Medical Corps, and when he was on duty at the War Dept. helped as on many occasions by his potent influence with Mr. Taft when the latter was Secretary of War and President. It was by Gen. Edwards' suggestion that Sec. Elihu Root, in his report as Sec. of War for 1902, paid the splendid tribute to the work of the Medical Dept. in Cuba, and especially to Walter Reed and his Commission, to which I have already referred. (Rep. Sec. War 1902, pp. 9 & 10). Mr. Root visited the Edwards about this time and Mrs. Edwards asked him why it was that in the recent elections in the U.S. the Republican party had lost nearly all of its immense majority in Congress, while in England the Liberal party with its war leader, Mr. Lloyd George, had suffered a crushing defeat. The reply of the wise old statesman was, "Bessie, why do you turn over in bed?"

On Dec. 8 I was called to Washington for consultation with the Surgeon Gen. which resulted in a very pleasant visit, although I found nothing of great urgency. One matter was the question of an increase of pension for Mrs. Walter Reed, it being proposed that her pension should be increased to equal that which had been given to Mrs. Gorgas, which was \$25.00 more. The obstacles in the way of an increase of pension seemed so great as to be insuperable, so it was decided it was much more practicable for the Walter Reed Memorial Assoc. to increase their monthly allowance to her from \$75.00 to \$100.00 which was about the amount of the income at the disposal of the Association.

Among other matters discussed in the office was the question brought up by Col. Siler of stoppage of pay of Army personnel for disability due to the remote

260. effects of venereal infections. I was very strongly opposed to penalties for chronic diseases whose origins were a remote point of time from the establishment of the disability, and was pleased that he was willing to adopt this principle.

The winter of 1923 was a very severe one in Boston. During January there were five heavy snow storms within three weeks with no melting between so that most of the side streets were piled up so as to be impassable for vehicles, and only the street-car lines and the main thoroughfares could be kept open. The people, therefore, dumped their ashes and garbage in the snow and when spring came Boston had literally to dig itself out and cart away two months' accumulation of these wastes. As they were buried in ice, however, there had been no nuisance or trouble on that account.

The Army papers of February 10th published a list of the eliminated medical officers under the Act of Congress. There were eight colonels of which two were for disability; nine lieut. cols., of which 7 for disability; 45 majors and 47 captains. There seemed to me to be some good men among them, but on the whole the selection seemed well made.

At the usual headquarters officers' meeting in March Gen. Brewster asked me to remain after the meeting. He asked me to sit down and said that he would like to see more of me. I laughed and said that it would be very agreeable to me too, but that it was not contemplated by the system in vogue which required official matters to go through the General Staff. He said that he knew that, but knew also that I had more knowledge of medical matters than the General Staff, and wanted me to feel free to come to him about official matters whenever I wished to. After this he came to my office occasionally for a chat, and we had some very interesting talks. ~~In one of these he said the medical representative on G-4 at Chaumont was a very able man, but was too much under the sway of the General Staff, and did not always stand up strongly for important medical interests. He mentioned the "overcrowd~~

261. ~~ing order” as one which was not opposed as it should have been.~~³⁰ During the spring I had a recurrence of the old trouble with the General Staff about the organized militia section handling matters relating to the medical service without consulting me, or if my advice was taken they failed to follow it up without consulting the General. I finally took the matter to Gen. Brewster, and the General Staff received clear and definite instructions which prevented further trouble.

During all of this year we were much occupied with General Staff studies of mobilization plans. These were designated by colors as white, blue, red, brown, etc. They were very interesting and profitable studies which gave us all a most valuable training in the grasp of general problems and the methods of the General Staff in studying them.

On June 12th I attended the graduation exercises at the Mass. Institute of Technology, familiarly known in New England as “The Tech.” My son graduated this year as a Bachelor of Science in chemical engineering. Dr. S.W. Stratton who had been the Chief and the developer of the Bureau of Standards and had been recently elected President of The Tech, presided for the first time. Gen. Brewster made a brief address to the R.O.T.C. officers and gave them their commissions as 2nd Lieuts. in the Reserve. Major Pendleton then had them all stand up, raise their right hands and take together the oath of allegiance in a very effective manner.

On June 27th I attended a meeting of the Faculty of the Mass. Homeopathic Hospital, the occasion being the formulation of plans for the organization of a Reserve Evacuation Hospital. This fine hospital had been, during the World War, the parent institution of Base Hospital 44, and Dr. Pollock, the President of the Faculty, recalled in a humorous speech his visit to me in Washington in April 1917 to get authorization for the organization of a base hospital. He said that I had laid the important emphasis at that time on the necessity of their rais-

³⁰ The Army allotted less space than called for by regulations to men on troop ships, to speed deployment of the A.E.F. The increased crowding may well have helped spread the influenza virus and other diseases.

262. ing \$30,000 to buy their equipment, and was glad to see that nothing was said about the raising of money on this occasion. I told him that equipment was now the least of our troubles as we had warehouses full of it.

At the end of August I received a letter from Col. Lynch, who was then President of the Association of Military Surgeons, telling me of the death of Col. James R. Church, the Secretary and Editor. Lynch went on to say that he thought I was one to take the Secretaryship and proposed that I should ask for my retirement and take it. After some correspondence I agreed to do so if it could be held over until my retirement in June of the next year. This was arranged at the annual meeting at Carlisle in October by my election, and Major E.E. Hume's election as temporary Secretary until my retirement.

During the fall of 1923 very little of special medical interest is noted in my diary although the routine work was interesting and the social life in Boston was in every way cordial and delightful. During the year I had determined that I should learn to drive an automobile, and had purchased a second-hand Ford, and under Col. Ekwurzel's patient tuition learned to drive it fairly well. I found it a great convenience not only in going about the city, but in taking short week end trips into the country. I never learned, however, to drive as young people do, instinctively, just as they walk. It always required my close attention, and was a good deal of a mental strain. At night also my vision was very poor and I was confused by the lights so that I was not by any means a safe chauffeur. Therefore, before leaving Boston I gave up driving, and have never undertaken to drive since. It is, in my opinion, an accomplishment that should be learned before 50 or not undertaken at all.

In March 1924 I had something of a controversy with the Surgeon General's Office who in their requirement in examination for the Aviation Service of the Reserve made it necessary, if the examination of a candidate was once begun, that it could not be stopped when a disability was established, but the whole elaborate form

263. had to be gone through with and completed with the whirling chair, the perimeter chart for vision, the vertigo tests, and a lot of other things, which took hours. At the Mass. Tech. there were over 100 of these examinations to be made, and they could only be made by the attending surgeon who had qualified for making these examinations by a special course of training. The result was that these examinations took nearly two months of the time of the attending surgeon when, but for the insistence of this, in my opinion, useless requirement, it could have been gotten through with in half the time. This was an example of the encouragement of red tape by the SGO which I had already called attention to in the Annual Report sent in two months before in connection with property returns and property papers. My protest, however, did not accomplish anything except to draw a rather sharp letter from the Surgeon General whose loyalty to his assistants was such that I thought he, at times, bent over backwards in his support of them. The Finance Division of the SGO also came in for their share of criticism as regards red tape to which they added a most irritating epistolary style in their correspondence with civilians. I sometimes rewrote these letters and signed them myself in order to save the feelings of worthy citizens whose only sin was that they had sent a bill to the SGO for services rendered.

In one mail at the end of March I received two letters, one from General Ireland and the other from Mrs. Walter Reed calling my attention to a publication in World's Work on an advance chapter from the biography of General Gorgas written by Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, the editor of World's Work in collaboration with Mrs. Gorgas. This article stated that when Reed's commission demonstrated that yellow fever was carried, by mosquitoes, it did not convey to him any clue to the solution of the problem of prevention as he saw no way in which mosquitoes could be eradicated. The claim was boldly advanced that it was the genius of Gorgas which found a way to attack mosquitoes and solve the problems. In both letters I was asked to take

264. up the matter with Mr. Hendrick and have these statements corrected. I wrote, therefore, a letter, which I asked him to publish in the next issue of World's Work, in which there was a calm, dispassionate statement of the facts. Reed was perfectly familiar with the methods of combating mosquitoes which had been developed some years before by Mr. L.O. Howard, Chief of the Bureau of Entomology, and in fact mosquito prevention work had been put in operation by me at Marianao at Reed's suggestion in October 1900, three months before the successful demonstration of the role of the stegomyia mosquito as the conveyer of this infection. As Reed had in his paper announcing the conclusions of his Board from their experiments read before the Pan-American Medical Congress held in Havana Feb. 4-7, 1901, clearly stated that the infection could be controlled by warfare on the mosquito, which was the transmitting agent, such a statement appeared to be inexcusable. It is certain that Gen. Gorgas never advanced any such claim. On the contrary, in a letter to Reed dated 26 Aug., 1901, he specifically disclaimed any discovery in the matter, saying, "I am very happy to shine in the more humble role of being the first to put your discovery to extensive practical application." As this letter was already in print, and Reed's paper above referred to was a basic document, it seems incredible that the authors, one of whom was present in Cuba at the time, should make such a statement, and still more incredible that they should fail to correct it in their book when their attention was called to it. I got back a very unsatisfactory reply from Mr. Hendrick who did not state definitely whether he would or would not publish my letter. I then sent my letter with his to Gen. Ireland telling him to do what he thought best about it. He being a man of action sent my letter to the New York Times where in due time it was published in the Sunday New York Times, 27 May, 1924.

Meanwhile Mr. Hendrick after thinking over the matter wrote me a second

265. letter agreeing to publish my statement. I had to inform him, however, that his first letter being so unsatisfactory, Gen. Ireland had sent the paper to the New York Times. Mr. Hendrick not only did not make any correction in the World's Work, but to my amazement when the life of General Gorgas was issued I found that no correction had been made there either. This made a critical review of the book an absolute necessity, and my review, which was approved by Gen. Ireland, Col. Havard, who was at the time Chief Surgeon of Cuba, Dr. L.O. Howard and others who knew the facts, was published as an editorial in the Military Surgeon, March 1925.

My life in Boston was so agreeable that I saw my 64th birthday on June 27th 1924 approach with much regret. At noon on that day Gen. Brewster had all the officers on duty at the base assemble in his office to bid me goodbye, and made a very flattering and well expressed little speech on my career in the Army and his regret at my retirement. I said a few words of appreciation and of regret at leaving the General and others at headquarters. Then they all filed by and shook hands. I then signed my last official papers as Corps Area Surgeon and turned over the office to Col. Ekwurzel. The medical officers in the Corps Area had determined to give me a farewell dinner and had put all of the arrangements in the hands of Col. E.L. Ruffner. He had selected the Wayside Inn at South Sudbury celebrated in Longfellow's well-known poem as the place for the dinner, and there 40 officers assembled, including two colonels of the Reserve, Colonels Begg and Keenan. Col. Ruffner presided very well, and after our excellent dinner read letters and telegrams from persons who could not come, including a very beautiful letter from my friend and chief, Gen. Ireland, reviewing what be considered to have been my important services to the Corps. This letter I will attach as it will be something of an excuse for any evidences of conceit which may be found in these pages. My wife and I left Boston with much regret about the middle of July and came to Washington where I took up the editorship of the Military Surgeon in August, and have lived happily since that time.

266. APPENDIX

Mention of Services in Annual Reports of Secretaries of War Elihu Root and William H. Taft:

Mr. Root in his last report as Secretary of War (1902) says with reference to the work of Major Walter Reed and his coadjutors with reference to yellow fever (page 10):

Special credit is due also to the Medical Department of the Army, and particularly to Major Walter Reed and Major Wm. C. Gorgas for their extraordinary service in ridding the island of yellow fever, described in my last report; and to Dr. Jefferson R. Kean and Dr. James Carroll for their share in that work.

The brilliant character of this scientific achievement, its inestimable value to mankind, the saving of thousands of lives, and the deliverance of the Atlantic seacoast from constant apprehension, demand special recognition from the Government of the United States.

He then goes on to speak specifically of Reed and Lazear. It is curious that no mention is made of Dr. Agramonte.

On the preceding page of this report, Secretary Root mentioned me among General Wood's assistants as follows:

I know of no chapter in American history more satisfactory than that which will record the conduct of the military government of Cuba. The credit for it is due, first of all, to Brig. Gen. Leonard Wood, the commander of the department of Santiago until December, 1899, and thenceforth military governor of the island. Credit is due also to Brig. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, who had charge of the collection of customs revenues; Major B. St. John Greble and Maj. and Surg. Jefferson R. Kean, successively heads of the department of charities; etc. . . .

Secretary of War, later President, Taft, in his Annual Report for the year 1909 speaks quite fully of my work as Sanitary Officer of the Republic of Cuba under the military intervention. He says:

The sanitary work done in Cuba under our first intervention was directed by medical officers of the army, each acting independently and working on a system of his own, but just before the withdrawal of American authority on May 20, 1902, General Wood, the military governor, published an order organizing the National Board of Health, which should be a central sanitary authority with broad general powers. There was, however, a lack of coordination between the work of the national board and that of municipal sanitary authorities. The National Board of Health was invested with no definite authority on matters of municipal sanitation;

267 moreover, the municipalities of Cuba are as a rule poor, and their system of taxation is defective.

The result

has been that effective sanitary work nearly ceased in Cuba after the withdrawal of American government,

except in Havana and a few of the larger towns, where the National Treasury was compelled to go to the rescue.

Such was the condition of affairs at the time of our second intervention in October, 1906. The situation was complicated by a yellow-fever epidemic which had spread widely through the island, and which, on account of the greatly increased number of non-immune Spaniards and Americans in the island, showed a most disconcerting capacity for spreading into the country districts and establishing foci of infection in the small villages and sugar centrals, where detection and effective sanitary operations were alike difficult. This was a new phenomenon which had not been observed during the first intervention, when, outside of the cities, the non-immune were few and means of communication very deficient. A further complication was due to the fact that the quarantine branch of the sanitary service was independent of the National Board of Health, being, in fact, a bureau of the Treasury Department.

Lieut. Col. J.R. Kean, of the Medical Department, was summoned to Cuba and put in charge of sanitary affairs by Secretary of War William H. Taft, who was then acting as provisional governor. Colonel Kean found confronting him two tasks, the first being the stamping out of yellow fever and the second the organization of some effective national control over sanitary affairs in municipalities. For the first he had to operate through, or in connection with, the unorganized and untrained municipal sanitary officials, over whom he could exercise no legal authority. This, together with the condition of political confusion existing in the island, so complicated sanitary operations that the yellow-fever infection was not finally eradicated in the provinces until a national sanitary organization was established, which admitted of an effective and uniform method of sanitary administration throughout the island. The nationalization of the sanitary service was effected by means of a decree published August 27, 1907, which accomplished the following objects:

1. The abolition of the municipal boards of health and the transfer of all powers previously vested in them to national officials, the local sanitary officers who were appointed by the highest executive authority.
2. The assumption by the State of the cost of all municipal sanitary works and services, with the proviso that the municipal governments shall refund to the State, in consideration thereof, one-tenth of their total incomes for each year.
3. An increase in the powers of the chief sanitary officer, who was made in fact the administrative authority of the department. The Superior Sanitary Board was at the same time reduced in number and authority, a majority of its members being

268. ex-officio of the national sanitary board. The role of the new national sanitary board was made rather advisory than administrative.

A second decree issued soon afterwards transferred the quarantine service to the national sanitary department, where it logically and properly belonged.

This nationalized service furnished the machinery for the exercise of the broad powers conferred upon the old National Board of Health by the order of General Wood, and when once its organization was effected it operated so smoothly and efficiently as to make it highly appreciated by the Cuban people as well as by the provisional government.

Another important government bureau which had been built up in Cuba during the first intervention was the Department of Charities, which administered the system of hospitals throughout the island, including the leper hospitals and the hospital for the insane and also a number of other charitable and reformatory institutions. This department was cognate to the sanitary department, both on account of the fact that its administrative problems were medical in character and because of its control of the hospitals. It seemed logical therefore to join it with the sanitary service into one administrative department at the head of which should be a secretary, with a seat in the cabinet. The law organizing this department and at the same time codifying the laws relating to beneficencia was drawn up, and after a careful review by the advisory commission, it was put into effect as a part of the law of the executive power, which is an organic act for the administration of the executive departments of the Government. The organization of this new department which is known as the Department of Sanitation and Charities (Sanidad y Beneficencia) is new and original in character. The trend of public opinion in all progressive countries is at present toward recognition of the constantly increasing importance of the agencies which have to deal with the public health.

269. LETTER FROM GENERAL IRELAND TO LT. COL. RUFFNER.

(Read at the farewell dinner given by the Medical Dept. officers of the 1st Corps Area to Gen. J.R. Kean, at the old Wayside Inn, South Sudbury on his retirement.)

27 June, 1924.

My dear Colonel Ruffner,

I apprehend that it is possible that the medical officers of the First Corps Area are not entirely familiar with the distinguished record of the officer to whom they are saying goodbye, and for that reason I am going to review in a very meager way some of his accomplishments in the Medical Department.

I want to say, to start with, that in my opinion Colonel Kean has done more for the advancement of the interests of the Department than any other officer who ever belonged to the Corps. He has done more to establish the present satisfactory condition of the Medical Department than any living man.

I did not become acquainted with Colonel Kean until the fall of 1902, but I am sure some of you know his history in the Spanish-American War. He commanded the largest hospital in the Seventh Corps in a most successful way, where hundreds of cases of typhoid fever were treated in a manner which called forth most favorable comment. He went to Cuba with the Seventh Corps and was General Fitzhugh Lee's chief surgeon. He was offered the position of sanitary officer of the City of Havana, which he refused, to remain with his Corps. He was finally appointed Director of Charities by General Wood, and this distinguished officer has made of record his estimate of Colonel Kean's valuable service in this position.

Colonel Kean was intimately associated with Walter Reed in his investigations which proved the transmission of yellow fever, and did a great deal of work for this Board, for which he did not receive special credit, because he was not a member of the Board. He was mentioned by the Secretary of War in his annual report for 1902 for his exceptional service during the time he was in Cuba.

Colonel Kean became the Executive Officer for Surgeon General O'Reilly in September, 1902, and immediately set to work in applying to the Medical Department the lessons of the Spanish American War. It is fair to say that the Medical Department of the Army was the only Department that took these lessons to heart and made adjustments on that basis. As a result the Medical Department had to be reorganized. This was accomplished, after a four years' campaign, by the Act of Congress of April 23, 1908, which gave the Medical Department its present status. This Act, among other very radical changes, created the Medical Reserve Corps, which was of Colonel Kean's initiative.

Strange as it may seem today, this tremendous step in advance was obtained after most serious opposition, because the rest of the Army

270. apparently could not understand what the Medical Corps was going to do with an Officers' Reserve Corps. And now, since this Corps has really become the bulwark of our national defense, the rest of the Army is only too prone to forget that the Medical Department had a Reserve Corps for eight years before they did and that Colonel Kean was the father of this Corps.

The Spanish-American War demonstrated that if we were to meet the first emergencies of another war we had to have field supplies and equipment prepared and stored in advance. Colonel Kean started in to rectify this defect of the Medical Department at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, and initiated the scheme of setting aside certain field equipment every year. This enabled us to meet the emergencies of the mobilization of the National Guard on the border in 1916, and made it possible for us to get through the World War from the supply standpoint.

In the early days of the World War many of the professional men of this country went to France and served in the hospitals there. Upon their return to the United States two of them in particular (George Crile of Cleveland and Karl Connell of New York) stated that general hospitals should be organized in time of peace for an emergency. Fortunately for the Medical Department of the Army, Colonel Kean was at this time on duty with the American Red Cross. One of the first things he undertook upon assuming his work with that organization was to organize 500-bed base hospitals. He used various large civil general hospitals throughout the country as parent institutions for these organizations, and before he left the American Red Cross in August, 1917, he had started the organization of forty-three of these hospitals. It was this foresight which enabled our Government to give six base hospitals at once for service back of the English lines when the English mission demanded them upon their visit to the United States in April, 1917. It should always be remembered that these hospitals were the first military organizations of the American Army to fly the American flag in Europe during the World War.

The tripod upon which the success of the Medical Department of the Army rested in the World War consisted of the Medical Reserve Corps, the accumulation of field supplies for an emergency, and the organization of base hospitals, and Colonel Kean was responsible for all of these activities. He went to France in August 1917, to command the United States Army Ambulance Service on duty with the French, and remained with that organization until he had placed it on a thoroughly efficient basis before reporting for duty with the American Expeditionary Forces.

These are only some of the many activities of importance connected with the Medical Department in which Colonel Kean was the leader, but they are enough to mark him as the greatest living benefactor of the Department.

His work as Chief Sanitary Officer of the Second American Occupation in Cuba is a matter of history. It was during this time that he compiled the sanitary code which is in operation not only in Cuba, but in Puerto Rico.

271. The Officers of the Medical Corps do themselves great honor in remembering Colonel Kean upon the eve of his retirement. An officer of any other Government of the world who had done as much for humanity as Colonel Kean has done would have been handsomely recognized, and it is a sad commentary upon our system of awards for service that he should be retired without the recognition due him. He should have been the Chief of the Corps.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) M. W. Ireland
The Surgeon General

272. CITATION, DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

KEAN, JEFFERSON RANDOLPH, Brigadier General.

D.S.M. As chief of the Department of Military Relief, American Red Cross, by his foresight, marked efficiency and energy, he organized the Base Hospitals which cared for many of our wounded and administered the U.S. Ambulance Service for duty with the French Army, greatly assisting our ally. He rendered services of conspicuous worth to the United States.

[273] Appendix

Washington, D.C.
September 3, 1913

Lt. Colonel J.R. Kean
Medical Corps, U.S.A.
Surgeon General's Office
Washington, D.C.

My dear Colonel Kean,

Many officers of the Army of all grades can, of their own knowledge, bear witness to your very great ability, not only as a surgeon and a sanitarian, but as an administrative and an executive officer as well; but I doubt if there is now any officer of high rank who knows as well as I know how greatly the Army is indebted to you for a beneficent work that was neither professional, administrative, nor executive. I refer to the Act of Congress approved April 23, 1908, reorganizing and increasing the Medical Corps of the Army, and it is with regard to the part that you bore in bringing about the enactment of that law that I desire to bear witness while yet I may.

At the general reorganization of the Army by the Act of February 2, 1901, the Medical Department was grievously neglected, and, the reorganization having been accomplished, any effort in the near future to obtain for that department the legislative aid that it sorely needed and that it should have received under the general reorganization seemed foredoomed to failure. Those in high places in or under the War Department were nearly all opposed to any such an effort, while in Congress hostility to it was open and general. But your presentation of the case, in your capacity as assistant to the Surgeon General, finally won the support of the Secretary of War, and with that support you began the far more difficult task of winning the favor of Congresses that were wholly apathetic when they were not actually

[274] hostile. This task was finally accomplished, but only after years of labor, and its accomplishment was due chiefly to the sound arguments that you advanced, the good-tempered persistence with which you pressed them, and especially to the steps that your took to arouse the medical men throughout the country, and through them the Congress, to a realizing sense of the urgent need of the Army for a reorganization of its medical and sanitary service.

All these things I know, because, in my capacity as The Military Secretary or The Adjutant General of the Army, I was in a position to learn of them as but few, if any, others could; and if at any time in the future this statement of what I know is likely to be of service to you, you are at liberty to use it as you may see fit.

Sincerely yours,

[signed F.C. Ainsworth]

Major General, U.S. Army, Retired